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CENSURA LITERARIA.

VOLUME IV.

Singula lectus

Exquiritque auditque virûm monumenta priorum.

VIRGIL.

BARNARD AND FARLEY, Shipner Street, London.

CENSURA LITERARIA.

CONTAINING

TITLES, ABSTRACTS,

AND

OPINIONS

OLD ENGLISH BOOKS,

WITH

ORIGINAL DISQUISITIONS, ARTICLES OF BIOGRAPHY,
AND OTHER LITERARY ANTIQUITIES.

SIR EGERTON BRYDGES, BART. K. J. M. P.

SECOND EDITION.

WITH THE ARTICLES CLASSED IN CHRONOLOGICAL ORDER UNDER THEIR SEPARATE HEADS.

VOLUME IV.

London:

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CENSURA LITERARIA.

HISTORY.

ART. CCLV. The Recuyell of the Historys of Troye: composed and drawen out of dyverce Bookes of Latin into Frenshe, by the right venerable Persone and worshipfull Man Raoul le Feure, Preest, and Chapelayn unto the ryght noble, gloryous, and mighty Prince in his Tyme, Philip Duc of Burgoyne, of Brabant, &c. in the Yere 1464, and translated and drawen out of Frenshe into Englishe; by Willyam Caxton, Mercer of the Cyte of London, at the commundment of the ryght, hygh, mighty, and vertuouse Princesse, his redoubtyd Lady Margarete, Duchesse of Burgoyne, &c. whiche said Translation and Werke was begonne in Brugis, &c. the first of March, 1468, and ended in the Holy Cyte of Colen, 19 Sept. 1471.

This is generally understood to be the first book printed by Caxton; though an ingenious and learned gentleman has argued for the probability of his having before printed the original, viz. "Le Recueil des Histories de Troyes." Caxton, having printed this abroad, did not import the art itself till he returned to England a year or two afterwards. He concludes in the Colophon of this book with the following words: "For-vol. 1v.

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asmoche as age creepeth on me daily, and febleth all the bodye, and also because I have promysid diverce gentilmen, and to my frendes, to address to hem, as hastely as I might, this said book, therefore I have practysed and lerned, at my grete charge and dispence, to ordeyne this sayde book in prynte, after the manner and forme as ye may here see, and is not wreton with penne and ynke, as other bokes ben, to thende that all men may have them attones; for all the bookes of this storye, named the Recule of the Historeys of Troyes, thus enprynted, as ye here see, were begonne in oon day, and also fynyshid in oon day," &c.*

ART. CCLVI. The Seige and Conquest of Iherusalem, with many other Hystoryes therein comprysed: and of the Meseases of the Cristen Men in the Holy Londe; and of their Releef, &c. and how Godeffroy of Boloyne was first Kyng of the Latyns in that Royamme; and of his Deth. Translated and reduced out of Frenshe into Englyshe, by me symple Persone Wylliam Caxton. Emprynted in thAbbay of Westmester, xx of Novembre, † 1481.

"THE end (or design) of this performance, Caxton tells us in his Colophon, was, that every Christian man may be the better encouraged to enterprise war for the defence of Christendom, and to recover the said city of Jerusalem, in which our Saviour suffred death, &c. Also, that Christians might go thither

^{*} See Bib. Har. III. 193. Herbert's Typ. I. 2.

[†] See Herbert, I. 35.

in pilgrimage, with strong hand, to expel the Turks and Saracens out of the same, that our Lord might be there served, &c. Matter of fact appears to have been the chief pursuit of the author in this history; and, though some "mervallous workes" do occur in it; yet it seems not so over-run with romance, as some other histories of this age and subject are. Our translator says he presents this book to King Edward IV. which very presentation-book was sold in the auction of Mr. Rich. Smith's library in 1682. It was much read by our old warriors.*

ART. CCLVII. "Here begynnith the firste volum of Sir John Froissart, of the Cronycles of Englande, Fraunce, Spayne, Portyngale, Scotlande, Bretaine, Flaunders: and other places adjoynynge. Translated oute of Frenche into our materall't Englyshe tongue, by John Bouchier Knyghte, Lord Berners: at the com aundement of oure moste hyghe redoubted soveragyne Lorde Kynge Henry the Eyghth Kynge of Englande, Fraunce, and Irelande, defendour of the faith: and of the church of Englande, and also of Irelande, in earth the supreme heade."

On the back of the title are the King's arms. Next follows "The Preface of John Bouchier Knight, Lord Berners, translatour of this present cronicle," which fills one leaf; at the bottom of the second side of which is "Thus ended the preface of Syr John Bouchier

* Bibl. Harl. III. 193.

+ Sic.

Knight Lord Berners, translatour of this present cromicle. And hereafter followeth the table, with all the chapters as they stande in the boke in order, fro one to foure hundred LL whiche be in number occc and LL chapiters." The whole contains for occxx11, heades preface and contents. The Colophon, "Thus endeth the firste volume of Sir John Froissart," &c. Imprinted at London in Fletestrete at the sygne of the George, by Wyllyam Myddylton."

"Here begynneth the thirde and fourthe boke of Sir John Froissart of the cronycles of Englande, Fraunce, Spaygne, Portyngale, Scotlande, Bretayne, Flaunders, and other places adjoynyng, translated out of Frenche into Englyshe by Johan Bourchier Knyght Lorde Berners, deputie generall of the Kynges towne of Calais and Marchesse of the same, at the commundement of our most highe redouted soverayne lorde Kyng Henry the eyght Kynge of Englande and of France and hyghe defender of the Christen faithe, &c."

On the back of this leaf is the King's arms, as to the first volume. Then the preface and a table of the contents of cc xlix chapters. This volume contains Fo. cccxx, though numbered only cccxix, which number was repeated by mistake. Colophon, "Thus endeth the thirde and fourthe boke of Sir John Froissart" &c. "the whiche two bokes be copyled into one volume, and fynysshed in the sayd towne of Calais the tenth day of Marche, in the 16th yere of our said soverayne lordes raigne. Imprinted at London in Fletestrete by Rycharde Pynson, printer to the kynges moost noble

grace. And ended the last day of August: the yere of our Lorde God. maxxy.

Cum privylegio a rege indulto."

At the back of the last page is Pynson's device, No? 7, supposed to be his arms.*

ART. COLVIII. Sir John Froissart's Chronicle of England, France, and the adjoining countries, from the latter part of the reign of Edward II.

* Herbert says, "William Middleton printed both volumes of Proissart, but the type is much ruder than Pynson's. Mr. Ames's copy had only the four last sheets of Pinson's edition, and having his colophon at the end, made Ames suppose the whole last volume had been Pinson's; and that Middleton printed only the first volume." "There appear" Herbert afterwards adds. "to have been three editions of Froissart's Chronicle; one by Pinson himself, another with Pinson's name, but supposed to be a pirated edition, and a third by W. Middleton; of this it has been queried whether he ever printed any more than the first volume. I had a copy of it which had been Mr. Ames's; the title like the late Dr. Archer's copy, but had the king's arms, &c. on the back, and the colophon with Middleton's name without date. The title of the second volume had neither compartment nor border, and the back page blank. The remainder of this volume to Fo. cccx11 inclusive is printed on the same rude types as the first volume, except the last eight leaves, which are on much neater types, with the colophon in Pinson's name, printed on types of the same size as the chronicle, the lines gradually shortening, &c. This is supposed to be part of the pirated edition: the other edition with Pinson's name, differs from it, particularly in this respect, that the lines of the colophon are of equal length, and of a larger size. I imagine there were no more editions than these three, but the making up copies from one or another of these may seem to multiply editions greatly. I have seen Pinson's edition with the last leaf reprinted on modern black letter, copied from the supposed spurious edition, but dated MDXXIII."-Herbert, p. 1790.

to the coronation of Henry IV. Newly translated from the best French editions, with variations and additions from many celebrated Manuscripts.

By Thomas Johnes.

Who so shall telle a tale after a man,
He moste reherse, as neighe as ever he can,
Everich word, if it be in his charge,
All speke he never so rudely and so large;
Or else he moste tellen his tale untrewe,
Or feinen thinges, or finden wordes newe.

CHAUCER'S PROLOGUE.

Vol. I. At the Hafod press, by James Henderson, 1803, 4to. pp. 835, with a dedication to Lord Thurlow, and a short advertisement, dated from Hafod, 24 Dec. 1803.

The same—Vol. II. 1804, pp. 744.

There is a good account of Lord Berners's translation by Oldys in the "British Librarian," p. 67, in which he says "if Froissart has not hitherto received the honour of being printed at the Louvre with some other historians, according to the proposal of the learned Monsieur Du Fresne, in Le Long, Bibl. Hist. p. 235, upon the national motive of praising his own country too little, and ours too much, (see La Popeliniere, Hist. des Hist. lib. 8, and Bodin Meth. Hist. c. 4) these reasons, with the extraordinary dearness of the printed copies, should excite some learned person of this kingdom, for the reputation of our own country, to collate the MS. copies, compare the facts with records, and contemporary writers, and correct the

miserable mis-spellings in the several impressions of their surnames, who abundantly signalized their valour, in justice to the merits of these celebrated persons, and in honour to their posterity. The most ancient of these impressions in French seems to be that printed by Ant. Verard, a bookseller of Paris, fol. without date. The next was that printed also at Paris by three several persons, that is, the first volume by Fra. Regnauld. the second and third by Michael Le Noir, 1505. The fourth by John Petit. 1518. There was another impression at Paris by Ant. Couteau, also bound in two volumes, fol. 1530. This was that chiefly used by Denis Sauvage, Historiographer to King Hen. II. of France, in the edition he revised and corrected from many copies and abridgments; which was printed at Lyons by John de Tournes, fol. 1559, and again, at Paris, in fol. 1574, with marginal remarks, and annotations at the end of every book. He finds fault withthe preceding Editors, several parts of whom he may have rightly corrected, but is himself liable in many places to correction; notwithstanding he has been so preferred, that a copy of his edition has been sometimes sold in London for ten guineas. We could wish that most of the errors in these French editions were as truly corrected in the English one, as Bishop Nicholson imagined they were. In three of the editions we have seen, neither the books nor the chapters are divided alike; so that it is very tedious and confusing to find in one of them the references of the other. Though Froissart's method is somewhat diffuse and interrupted, yet the epitome we have of him in print is scarce! worth mentioning, however drawn up by Sleidan, such a skeleton he has made of it, 12mo. Franc. 1584, &c. and with such partiality, to the prejudice of the English, has he so diminished it; according to the censure of our learned Humphrey Lhuid in Comment. Brit. Descrip. fol. 27. And yet it has been translated into English by P. Golding, and printed in a 4to pamphlet, 1608."

Sir John Bourchier, Lord Berners, was born about 1467, son and heir of Sir Humpbry Bourckier by Elizabeth daughter and heir of Sir Frederick Tilney. (widow of Sir Thomas Howard) which Humphrey was slain at Barnet-field, on Edward the Fourth's part, and buried in Westminster-Abbey, during the life of his father, who was Sir John Bourchier, K. G. fourth son of William Earl of Ewe, and Baron Berners, by marriage with Margery, daughter and heir of Richard Lord Berners. Lord Bourchier succeeded his grandfather 16 May, 1474, being then only seven years old. He was educated at Oxford, and afterwards travelled abroad, and returned a master of several languages. and a complete gentleman. In 1495 he obtained the notice of Henry VII. by his valour in quelling the fury of the rebels in Cornwall and Devon, under the conduct of Michael Joseph, a blacksmith. In 5 Hen. VIII, he was captain of the pioneers at the siege of Therouenne. In 6 Hen. VIII. being made Chanceller of the King's Exchequer for life he attended the Lady Mary, the King's sister, into France, to her marriage with King Lewis XII.; and in 19 Hen. VIII. obtained a grant from the king of several manors. Afterwards he was made Lieutenant of Calais and the marches adjoining in France, and spending most of his time there, wrote several learned works in that situation. There he made his will, 3 March, 1532,

(24 Hen. VIII.) bequeathing his body to be buried in the chancel of the parish church of our Lady, within the town of Calais, and appointing that an honest priest should sing a mass there for his soul, by the space of three years. He died 16th March following, leaving by Katharine his wife daughter of John Duke of Norfolk, Joane his daughter and heir, married to Edmund Knyvet of Ashwelthorpe in Norfolk, Esq.*

Lord Berners translated besides Froissart, the following:

"The Castle of Love, translated out of Spanyshe into Englyshe, by John Bowrchier, Knyght, Lord Bernes, at the instance of the Lady Elyzabeth Carew, which book treateth of love between Leriano and Laureola, daughter to the King of Masedonia," with cuts—Twelves. Printed by Robert Wyer.

The same 4 Imprinted at London by John Kynge, 8vo.1

"The Golden Beke of Marcus Aurelius Emperour

* Dugd. Bar. II. 133. Wood's Ath. I. 33. Lord Berners had another daughter and co-heir, Mary, who married Alexander Unton of Wadley in Berkshire, but died without issue. Lord Berners's will is printed at length in the case of the Barony of Berners in Collins's Baronies in Fee, 1734, Fol. p. 337, where it appears that Jane Berners who married Edmund Knyvet, died 1561, having had John K. who, by Agnes Harcourt, had Sir Thomas K. who died 1617, having had by Muriel Parry, Sir Thomas K. who dying 1605, left by Elizabeth Bacon, Thomas K. who died 1658, leaving by Kstharine sister and co-heir to Thomas Burgh, Lord Burgh, Sir John Knyvet of Ashwelthorpe, K. B. whose daughter and at length sole heir Katharine marrying first John Harris, Gent. and afterwards Richard Bokenham, of Weston Mercate, Co. Suff. Esq. claimed and was allowed the Barony of Berners, 1720, but died s. p.

† Herbert, L 380, \$ Ibid II. 764.

and eloquent oratour." At the end, "Thus endeth the volume of Marke Aurelie, Emperour, otherwise called the golden boke, translated out of Frenche into Englishe by John Bourchier Knight Lorde Barners, deputie generall of the Kynge's town of Caleis and marches of the same, at the instaunt desire of his nevewe Sir Frauncis Bryan Knighte, ended at Calais ye tenth daie of Marche, in the yere of the reigne of our Soverayne lorde Kyng Henry the VIII. the XXIIII." Printed by Thomas Berthelet, 1534.*

"Arthur of Brytayn." On a ribbon; under which "The hystory of the moost noble and valyaunt Knyght Arthur of lytell brytayne, translated out of frenshe into englyshe by the noble Johan bourghcher Knyght, lorde Barners, newly imprynted." Over a cut of the Knight and his Squire, inclosed in a border of four odd pieces. On the back is the translator's prologue. On the next leaf begins "The table of thys present hystorie," ten pages, double columns. Contains 174 leaves, with cuts, though numbered only Fol. LXIX. "Here endeth the hystory of Arthur of lytell Brytayne. Imprynted at London in Powles churche yearde at the sygne of the Cock by Robert Redborne."

Lord Berners also wrote "The famous exploits of Sir Hugh of Bourdeaux," a book "of the duties of the inhabitants of Calais," &c. "Ite in vineam," a comedy usually acted at Calais after vespers, never printed.‡

^{*} Herbert, I. 425.

^{+ 1}bid IL 686.

[‡] Royal and noble authors. Dame Juliana Berners author of the book on Hawking, Hunting, and Armoury, 1481, was sister to

Mr. Johnes, the new translator of Froissart, is a man of fortune, of whose beautiful seat at Hafod descriptions may be found in many modern tours; and is M. P. for the county of Cardigan.

A specimen of each translation of the same chapter may exhibit the fairest character of both.

THE DEATH OF SIR JOHN CHANDOS.

FROM LORD BERNERS'S TRANSLATION, VOL. I.
CH. CCLXX.

"How Sir Johan Chaundos was slayne in a batayle, and howe finally the Frenchmen were discomfyted, and taken in the same batayle."

Greatly it greveed Sir Johan Chandos the takynge of saynt Salvyn, bycause it was under hys rule; for he was seneschall of Poictou. He set all hys mynde howe he myght recover it agayne, other by force or by stelthe, he cared nat so he myght have it, and for that entent dyvers nyghts he made sundrie busshmentes, but it aveyled nat. For sir Loyes who kept it, toke ever so good hede thereto, that he defended it fro all dangers. For he knewe well the takyng therof greved sore sir Johan Chandos at the hert. So it fell, that the night before the first day of January, sir Johan Chandos beynge in Poytiers, sent to assemble togyder dyvers barons, knyghtes, and squyres of Poitou. Desyring them to come to hym as prively as they coude: for he certeyned them how he wolde ryde

Richard Lord Berners, whose daughter was this author's grandmether. Sir Francis Bryan was distinguished for his poetical talents.

forthe, and they refused nat hys desyre, for they loved him entyrely, but shortely assembled togyder in the cyte of Poicters. Thyder came sir Guysehard Dangle; sir Loyes Harcourt, the lorde of Poas, the lorde of Partney, the lorde of Pyrlan, the lorde tanyboton, sir Geffray Dargenton, sir Maubruny of Leniers, sir Thomas Percy, syr Baudwyn of Fesvyll, sir Rycharde of Pontchardon, and dyvers other. And whan they were all togyder assembled, they were thre hundred speares and departed by night fro Poictiers, none knewe whyder they should go: except certayne of the lordes, and they had redy with them scalying ladders, and so came to saynt Salvyn. And there alighted, and delyvered their horses to their variettes which was about mydnight, and so entered into the dyke, yet they hadde nat their entente so shortely, for sodaynly they herde the watche horne blowe. I shall tell you wherfore it blewe. The same nyght Carlonet was departed fro the Roche of Poisay, with a xL speares with hym. And was come the same tyme to saynt Salvyn, to speke with the capitayne Sir Loys of saint Julyan, to thentent to have ryden togyder to Poictou, to se if they coude gette any pray. And so he called up the watchman, the whiche made hym to sounde hys horne. And so the englyshmen, who were on the other syde of the fortresse, herynge the watche blowe, and great noyse in the place, feared lest they had ben spyed by some spyes, for they knewe nothing that the sayd frenchmen were on the other syde, to have entredinte the place. Therfore they withdrue backe agayne out of the dykes, and sayd, let us go hens for this night. for we have failed of our purpose. And so they remounted on their horses, and retourned hole togyder

to Chautieny on the ryver of Cruse, a two leages there. Than the pointeyens demaunded of sir Johan Chandos. if he wolde commande them any farther service, he answered and sayde; sirs, retourne home agayne whan it please you, in the name of God: and as for thys day, I wyll abyde styll here in thys towne. departed the Knyghtes of Poictou and some of England. to the numbre of cc speares. Than Sir Johan Chandos went into a house, and caused to be made a good fyre, and there was styll with hym sir Thomas Percy and hys company seneschall of Rochell, who sayde to sir Johan Chandos, sir, it is your entent to tary here Ye, truly, quod he, why demaunded you? all this day. sir, the cause I desyre you is, sith ye wyll nat styre this daye, to gyve me leve, and I wyll ryde some way with my company, to se if I can fynde any adventure. your way, sir, in the name of God, quod Sir Johan Chandos. And so departed sir Thomas Percy with a XXX speakes in his company, and so passed the bridge at Chauvigny, and toke, the longe way that ledde to Poictiers. And sir John Chandos abode styll behynde full of displeasure, in that he had fayled of his purpose, and so stode in a kechyn warmynge him by the fyre. And his servantes jangeled with him, to thentent to bring him out of his melancholy. His servants had prepared for him a place to reste him; than he demanuaded if it were nere day? And therewith there came a man into the house, and came before hym and anyd, siz, I have brought you tidyngs. - What be they, tell ma?—sir, surely the frenchmen berydingeabrode.— Howe knowest thou that? said he?-I departed fro Saint Salvyn with them. -- What waye be they ryden? -sir, I can nat tell you the certaintie; but surely they

toke the high way to Poiters.—What frenchemen be they; canst thou tell me; sir, it is sir Loys of Saynt Julyan, and Carlonet the breton.-Well, quod sir Johan Chandos, I care nat; I have no lyst this night to ryde forthe: they may happe to be encountered thoughe I be nat there. And so he targed there styll a certayne space in a gret study, and at last whan he had well advysed hymselfe, he sayde, whatsoever I have sayde here befor, I trowe it be good that I ryde forthe; I must retourne to Poicters, and anone it wyll be daye. That is true, sir, quod the knights about him. he sayde, make redy, for I wyll ryde forthe; and so they dyd, and mounted on their horses, and departed. and toke the right way to Poicters costynge the ryver, and the frenchmen the same tyme were nat past a leag before hym in the same way, thinkynge to passe the ryver at the bridge of Lusac. There the englyshmen had knowlege howe they were in the trake of the frenchmen, for the frenchmen's horses cryed and braved, bycause of thenglysshe horses, that were before them with sir Thomas Percy. And anone it was fayre light daye, for in the begynnyng of January the mornyngs be soone light. And whan the frenchmen and bretons were within a leage of the bridge, they percyved on the other syde of the bridge sir Thomas Percy and his company: and he lykewise perceyved the frenchmen, and rode as fast as he might to get the advantage of the bridge. And sayd, behold yonder frenchmen be a great nombre agaynste us, therefore let us take the avantage of the bridge. And whan sir Loys and Carlonet sawe thenglysshemen make such hast to gette the brydge, they dyde in lyke wise. Howbeit the englisshemen gate it first, and lighted all afore, and so

raynged themselfe in good order to defende the bridge. The frenchmen likewyse lighted a fote, and delyvered their horses to their pages, commaundynge them to drawe a backe. And so dyde put themselfe in good order to go and assayle thenglisshemen, who kept themselfe close togider, and were nothynge afrayed: though they were but a handfull of men, as to the regard of the frenchmen. And thus as the frenchmen and bretons stayed and ymagined, howe and by what meanes to their advantage they might assayle the englysshemen, therewith there came behynde them sir Johan Chandos, his baner displayed, berynge therein, sylver, a sharpe pyle goules, and Jakes of Lery, a valyant man of armes dyd bere it: and he had with him a xt. speares: he approched fiercely the frenchmen. whan he was a thre forlongs fro the brydge, the french pages who sawe them comynge, were afrayed; and so ran away with the horses, and left their maysters there And whan sir Johan Chandos was come nere to them, he sayde, hark ye, frenchmen, ye are but yvell men of warre: ye ride at your pleasure and ease day and night; ye take and wyn townes and forteresses in Poyctou, whereof I am seneschall. Ye raunsome poore folke without my leave; ye ryde all about clene armed; it shulde seem the countrie is all yours. But I ensure you it is nat so. Ye sir Loyes and Carlonet, ye are to great maisters. It is more than a yere and a halfe that I have sette all myne entent to fynde or encountre with you; and nowe I thanke God I se you and speke to you; nowe shall it be sene who is stronger, other you or I. It hath been shewed me often tymes, that ye have greatly desyred to fynde me; nowe ye maye se me here. I am Johan Chandos, advyse me well.

Your great feates of armes wherwith ye be renowmed, by goddes leave nowe we shall prove it. Whyle suche langage was spoken, sir Johan Chandos company drewe toguyder; and sir Loyes and Carlonet kept themselfe close togyder, makynge semblant to be glad to be fought withall. And of all this mater sir Thomas Percy, who was on the other syde of the bridge, knewe nothynge; for the bridge was highe in the myddes, so that none coude se over. Whyle sir Johan Chandos reasoned thus with the frenchmen, there was a breton toke his glayve, and coude forbere no lenger, but came to an englysh squyer, called Sunekyn Dodall, and strake him on the brest that he cast him downe fro his horse. Sir Johan Chandos, whan he herde the noyse besyde him, he tourned that way, and sawe his squyre lye on the erthe, and the frenchmen lavenge on him. Then he was more chafed than he was before. and sayd to his company, sirs, howe suffre you this squyere thus to be slayne: a fote, a fote. And so he lepte a fote, and all his company, and so Sunekyn was rescued, and the betayle begone. Sir Johan Chandos, who was right hardy, and a coragyous knight, with his baner before him, and his company about him, with his cote of armes on him great and large beten with his armes of whyte sarcenet, with two pylles goules, one before and another behynde, so that he semed to be a sufficyente knyght to do a great feate of armes; and as one of the formast with his glayve in his hande, marched to his enemyes. The same mornyng there had fallen a great dewe, so that the grownde was somwhat moyste, and so in his goynge forwarde he slode and fell downe at the joyninge with his enemyes; and as he was arysing, there light a stroke on

him, given by a squier called Jakes of Saynte Martyn with his glayve; the which stroke entred into the fleshe under his eye, bytwene the nose and the forheed. Sir Johan Chandos sawe nat the stroke commynge on that side; for he was blynde on the one eye. the sight thereof a fyve yere before as he hunted after an harte, in the landes of Burdeaux. And also he had on no vyser. The stroke was rude, and entred into his brayne, the whiche stroke greved him so sore, that he overthrue to the erthe, and tourned for payne two tymes up so downe, as he that was wounded to dethe: for after the stroke he never spake worde. And whan his men sawe that mysfortune, they were right dolorouse. Than his uncle Edwarde Clyfforde stepte and bestrode him, for the frenchmen wolde fayne have had him; and defended him so valyantly, and gave rounde about him such strokes that none durst aproche nere to him. Also sir Johan Chambo and sir Bertram of Case semed lyke men out of their minds, whan they saw their mayster lye on the erthe. The bretons and frenchmen were gretly comforted whan they sawe the capitayne of their enemyes on the erthe, thynkynge verily that he had his dethe's Than they avaunced themselfe, and sayd, wounde. Ye englysh men yeelde you, for ye are all ours; ye can nat scape us. There the englyshmen dyd marveyls in armes, as well to defende themselfe, as to reveng their mayster sir Johan Chandos, whome they saw lye in a harde case: and a squyer of sir John Chandos spyed Jaques of Saynte Martyn, who hadde gyven his mayster his mortall stroke, and ran to hym fiersly and stroke him with such vyolence, that his glayve pearsed through bothe his thyes; howebeit VOL. IV.

for all that stroke he left nat styll to fight. If Sir Thomas Percy and his company had knowen of this adventure, who were on the other syde of the brige, they shulde well have socoured him: but bycause they knewe nothynge therof, nor herde no more of the frenchmen, wenyng to them they had ben gone backe. Therefore he and his company departed, and toke the waye to Poycters, as they that knewe nothynge of that busynesse. Thus the englyshmen fought styll before the bridge of Lusal, and there was done many a feat of armes: brevely the englyshemen coude endure no lenger agaynste the frenchmen, so that the moost parte of them were disconfyted and taken; but alwayes Edwarde Clyfforde wolde nat departe fro his nephue there as he laye. So thus yf the frenchmen hadde bene so happy, as to have had their horses there redy as they had nat, for their pages were ronne awaye fro them before, or els they might have departed with moche honour and profite with many a good prisoner; and for lacke of them they loste all, wherefore they were sore displeased, and sayd amonge themselfe, A. this an yvell order, for the journeye is ours, and yee, throughe faute of our pages we can nat departe, seynge we be hevy armed and sore traveyled, so that we can nat go a fote throughe this countre, the whiche is full of our enemyes, and contrary to us. And we are a sixe leages fro the next forteresse that we have; and also dyvers of our company be sore hurt, and we maye nat leave theym behynde us. Thus as they were in this case, and wyst nat what to do, and had sent two bretons unarmed in to the feldes, to se yf they might fynde any of their pages with their horses, there came

on them sir Guyssharde Dangle, sir Loyes Harcourte, the lorde Parteney, the lorde Tanyboton, the lorde Dargenton, the lorde of Pynan, sir Jaques of Surgyers and dyvers other englysshmen, to the nombre of two hundrid speares, who rode about to seke for the frenchmen; for it was shewed them howe they were abrode. And so they fell in the trake of the horses, and came in great hast with baners and penons wavynge in the wynde. And as sone as the bretons and frenchmen sawe them comynge, they knewe well they were their Than they sayde to the Englysshmen whome they had taken as prisoners before, Sirs, beholde yonder cometh a bande of your company to socour you, and we perceyve well that we can nat endure against them, and ye be our prisoners. We will quyte you. so that ye wyl kepe us and wyll become your prisoners, for we have rather yelde us to you, than to them that cometh yonder; and they aunswered, as ye well, so we are content.

Thus the englysshmen were losed out of their prisons. Than the Poictevins, Gascoyns, and Englysshmen came on them, their speares in their restes, cryeng their cryes. Then the Frenchmen and Bretons drue a syde and sayd to them, Sirs, leave, do us no hurt, we be prisoners all redy.

The englysshmen affirmed the same, and sayd, they be our prisoners. Carlonet was prisoner with sir Bertram of Case, and sir Loyes of Saynt Julyan with sir Johan Cambo; so that there was none but that he had a maister.

The barons and knyghtes of Poictou were sore disconforted, when they sawe their seneschall sir Johan Chandos lye on the yerthe, and coude nat speke: than they lamentably complayned, and sayd, A, sir Johan Chandos, the floure of all chivalry, unhappely was that glayve forged that thus hath wounded you, and brought you in parell of dethe. They wepte pyteously that were about hym, and he herde and understode them well, but he coulde speake no worde. wronge their handes and teare their heares, and made many a pytefull complaynt, and specially suche as were of his owne house. Than his servauntes unarmed hym and layde hym on pavesses, and so bare hym softely to Mortymer, the next forteresse to them. And the other barons and knyghtes returned to Poycters, and ledde with them their prisoners. And as I understode, the same Jaques Martyn, that thus hurte sir Johan Chandos, was so lytell taken hede to of his hurtes, that he dyed at Poycters. And this noble knyght, sir Johan Chandos, lyved nat after his hurte, past a day and a nyght, but so dyed: God have mercy on his soule, for in a hundred yere after, there was nat a more curtesse, nor more fuller of noble vertues, and good condycions amonge the englysshmen than he was. And whan the prince and princesse, the erle of Cambridge, the erle of Pembrouke, and other barons and knyghtes of Englande, such as were in Guyen, herde of his dethe, they were all disconforted, and sayd, they had lost all on that syde of the see. For his dethe his frendes and also some of his enemyes, were ryght sor-The englysshmen loved him, bycause all noblenesse was founde in hym. The frenchmen hated hym, bycause they doubted hym. Yet I herde his

dethe greatly complayned among ryght noble and valyant knyghtes of France, sayenge that it was a great dommage of his deathe, for they sayde, better it had ben, that he had ben taken a lyve. For if he had ben taken alyve, they sayde he was so sage and so ymaginatyve, that he wolde have founde som maner of good meanes, wherby the peace myght have ensued, bytween the realmes of Englande and Fraunce, for he was so well beloved with the kyng of Englande, that the kynge wolde beleve hym rather than any other in the worlde. Thus bothe frenche and englysshe spake of his dethe, and specially the englisshemen; for by hym Guyen was kept and recovered.

THE DEATH OF SIR JOHN CHANDOS.

FROM MR.JOHNES'S TRANSLATION, VOL. II. CHAP.IX.

Sir John Chandos is slain in a skirmish. The French,
at first victorious, are in the end defeated.

Sir John Chandos, being seneschal of Poitou, was seriously afflicted with the loss of St. Salvin: he was continually devising means to retake it, whether by assault or scalade was perfectly indifferent to him, so that he could gain it. He made many nightly ambuscades, but none succeeded; for sir Louis, who commanded in it, was very watchful, as he knew the capture of it had highly angered sir John Chandos.

It happened that on the night preceding the eve of the new year (1870) sir John Chandos, who resided in the city of Poitiers, had sent out his summons to the barons and knights of Poitou to come to him as secrectly as they could, for he was going on an expedition. The Poitevins would not refuse him any thing, being much beloved by them: they obeyed his summons, and came to Poitiers. Sir Guiscand d'Angle, sir Louis de Harcourt, the lords de Pons, de Pinane, de Tannybouton, sir Geoffry d'Argenton, sir Maubrun de Linieres, lord Thomas Percy, sir Baldwin de Franville*, sir Richard de Ponchardon, came thither, with many others.

When they were all assembled, they were full three hundred lances.

They left Poitiers in the night, and no one except the principal lords, knew whither they were going. The English, however, had scaling ladders, and every thing they might have occasion for, with them. They marched to St. Salvin; and when there arrived, were told what was intended: upon which they all dismounted, and, giving the horses to their valets, the English descended into the ditch. It was then about midnight.

They were in this situation, and would very shortly have succeeded in their expedition, when they heard the guard of the fort wind his horn. The reason was this. That very night Carnet le Breton had come from La-Roche-posay, with fortylances, to St. Salvin, to request sir Louis de St. Julien to accompany him in an expedition to Poitou: he therefore awakened the guard and those within the fort.

The English, who were on the opposite side, ignorant of the intentions of this body of Frenchmen wanting to enter the fort, thought they had been seen by the guard, or that spies had given information of their

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arrival to the garrison. They immediately left the ditch, and said, "Let us away, for this night we have been disappointed in our scheme." They mounted their horses, and advanced in a body to Chauvigny on the river Creuse, two short leagues distant.

When all were arrived there, the Poitevins asked sir John Chandos if he wished them to remain with him: he answered, "No: you may return in God's name; I will to-day stay in this town." The Poitevins departed, and with them some English knights; in all, about two hundred lances.

Sir John Chandos entered a hotel, and ordered a fire to be lighted. Lord Thomas Percy, seneschal of La Rochelle, and his men remained with him. Thomas asked sir John Chandos if he intended staying there that day: "Yes," replied sir John: "Why do vou ask?" "Because, Sir, if you be determined not to go further, I shall beg of you to give me leave to make an excursion, to see if I shall meet with any adventure." " In the name of God, go then," replied sir John. At these words, lord Thomas Percy set out, attended by about thirty lances. Sir John Chandos remained with his own people. Lord Thomas crossed the bridge of Chauvigny, taking the longest road to Poitiers, having left sir John Chandos quite low spirited for having failed in his intended attack on St. Salvin. He continued in the kitchen of the hotel. warming himself at a straw fire which his herald was making for him, conversing at the same time with his people, who very readily passed their jokes in hopes of curing him of his melancholy.

After he had remained some time, and was preparing to take a little rest, and while he was asking if it were yet day, a man entered the hotel, and came before him, saying, "My Lord, I bring you news." "What is it?" asked sir John. "My lord, the French have taken the field." "How dost thou know this?" "My lord, I set out from St. Salvin with them." "And what road have they taken?" "My lord, that I cannot say for a certainty; but it seemed to me they followed the road to Poitiers." "And who are these French?" "My lord, they are sir Louis de St. Julien and Carnet le Breton, with their companies." "Well, it is indifferent to me," replied sir John; "I have not any inclination to exert myself this day: they may be met with without my interference."

He remained a considerable time very thoughtful; after having well considered, he added, " Notwithstanding what I have just said, I think I shall do right to mount my horse; for at all events I must return to Poitiers, and it will be soon day." "It is well judged," replied the knights who were with him. Sir John ordered every thing to be got ready, and his knights having done the same, they mounted and set off, taking the road to Poitiers, following the course of the river. The French might be about a good league before them on this same road, intending to cross the river at the bridge of Lussac *. The English suspected this from perceiving the tracks of the horses, and said among themselves, "Either the French or lord Thomas Percy are before us." Shortly after this conversation, day appeared; for in the early part of January the mornings begin to be soon light. The French might be about a league from the bridge of Lussac, when

^{*} Lussac, a town in Poitou, diocese of Poitiers,

they perceived lord Thomas Percy and his men on the other side of the river. Lord Thomas had before seen them, and had set off full gallop to gain the bridge. They said, "There are the French: they are more in number than we are: let us hasten to take advantage of the bridge."

When sir Lewis and Carnet saw the English on the opposite side of the river, they also made haste to gain the bridge: however, the English arrived first, and were masters of it. They all dismounted, and drew themselves up to defend and guard it.

The French likewise dismounted on their arrival, and giving their horses for the servants to lead them to the rear, took their lances, and advanced in good order, to attack the English and win the bridge. The English stood firm, although they were so few compared with the enemy.

Whilst the French and Bretons were considering the most advantageous manner to begin the onset, sir John Chandos arrives with his company, his banner displayed and flying in the wind. This was borne by a valiant man at arms, called James Allen, and was a pile gules on a field argent. They might be about forty lances, who eagerly hastened to meet the French. As the English arrived at a small hillock, about three furlongs from the bridge, the French servants who were between this hillock and the bridge, saw them, and being much frightened, said, "Come away: let us save ourselves and our horses." They therefore ran off, leaving their masters to shift as well as they could.

When sir John Chandos, with displayed banner, was come up to the French, whom he thought very

lightly of, he began from horseback to rail at them. saying, "Do you hear Frenchmen? you are mischievous men at arms; you make incursions night and day at your pleasure; you take towns and castles in Poitou, of which I am seneschal. You ransom poor people without my leave, as if the country were your own; but, by God, it is not. Sir Louis, sir Louis, you and Carnet are too much the masters. It is upwards of a year and a half that I have been endeavouring to meet you. Now, thanks to God, I do so, and will tell you my mind. We will now try which of us is the strongest in this country. It has been often told me, that you were desirous of seeing me: you have now that pleasure. I am John Chandos: look at me well: and, if God please, we will now put to the proof your great deeds of arms which are so renowned."

With such words as these did sir John Chandos greet them: he would not have wished to have been any where else, so eager was he to fight with them.

Sir Louis and Carnet kept themselves in a close body, as if they were willing to engage. Lord Thomas Percy and the English on the other side of the bridge knew nothing of what had passed, for the bridge was very high in the middle, which prevented them from seeing over it.

During this scoffing of sir John Chandos, a Breton drew his sword, and could not resist from beginning the battle: he struck an English squire, named Simkin Dodenhale, and beat him so much about the breast with his sword that he knocked him off his horse on the ground. Sir John Chandos, who heard the noise behind him, turned round, and saw his

enraged him more than before: he said to his men, "Sirs, what are you about? how suffer you this man to be slain? Dismount, dismount:" and at the instant he was on foot, as were all his company. Simkin was rescued, and the battle began.

Sir John Chandos, who was a strong and bold knight, and cool in all his undertakings, had his banner advanced before him, surrounded by his men, with the scutcheon above his arms: he himself was dressed in a large robe which fell to the ground, blazoned with his arms on a white sarcenet, argent, a pile gules; one on his breast, and the other on his back; so that he appeared resolved on some adventurous undertaking; and in this state, with sword in hand, he advanced on foot towards the enemy.

This morning there had been a hoar frost, which had made the ground slippery; so that as he marched he entangled his legs with his robe, which was of the longest, and made a stumble: during which time a squire, called James de St. Martin (a strong expert man) made a thrust at him with his lance, which hit him in the face, below the eye, between the nose and forehead. Sir John Chandos did not see the aim of the stroke, for he had lost the eye on that side five years ago, on the heaths of Bourdeaux, at the chace of a stag: what added to this misfortune, sir John had not put down his vizor, so that in stumbling he bore upon the lance, and helped it to enter into him. lance, which had been struck from a strong arm, hit him so severely that it entered as far as the brain, and then the squire drew it back to him again.

The great pain was too much for sir John, so he

fell to the ground, and turned twice over in great agony, like one who had received his death-wound. Indeed, since the blow he never uttered a word. His people, on seeing this mishap, were like madmen. His uncle, sir Edward Clifford, hastily advanced, and striding over the body (for the French were endeavouring to get possession of it), defended it most valiantly, and gave such well-directed blows with his sword that none dared approach him. Two other knights, namely, sir John Chambo and sir Bertrand de Cassilies*, were like men distracted at seeing their master lie thus on the ground.

The Bretons, who were more numerous than the English, were much rejoiced when they saw their chief thus prostrate, and greatly hoped he was mortally wounded. They therefore advanced, crying out, "By God, my lords of England, you will all stay with us, for you cannot now escape."

The English performed wonderful feats of arms, as well to extricate themselves from the danger they were in, as to revenge their commander, sir John Chandos, whom they saw in so piteous a state. A squire, attached to sir John, marked out this James de St. Martin, who had given the blow: he fell upon him in such a rage, and struck him with his lance as he was flying, that he ran him through both his thighs, and then withdrew his lance: however, in spite of this, James de St. Martin continued the fight.

Now if lord Thomas Percy, who had first arrived at the bridge, had imagined any thing of what was going

^{*} Sir John Chambo, Sir John Cassilies.—Q. Barnes calls the last Case.

forward, sir John Chandos' men would have been considerably reinforced: but it was otherwise decreed; for, not hearing any thing of the Bretons since he had seen them advancing in a large body towards the bridge, he thought they might have retreated; so that lord Thomas and his men continued their march, keeping the road to Poitiers, ignorant of what was passing.

Though the English fought so bravely on the bridge of Lussac, in the end they could not withstand the force of the Bretons and French, but were defeated, and the greater part made prisoners. Sir Edward Clifford stood firm, and would not quit the body of his nephew.

If the French had had their horses, they would have gone off with honour, and have carried with them good prisoners; but, as I have before said, their servants had gone away with them. Those of the English also had retreated, and quitted the scene of battle. They remained therefore in bad plight, which sorely vexed them; and said among themselves, "This is a bad piece of business: the field is our own, and yet we cannot return through the fault of our servants. It is not proper for us, who are armed and fatigued, to march through this country on foot, which is quite against us; and we are upwards of six leagues from the nearest of any of our fortresses. We have, besides, our wounded and slain, whom we cannot leave behind."

As they were in this situation, not knowing what to do, and had sent off two or three of the Bretons, disarmed, to hunt after and endeavour to find their servants, they perceived advancing towards them, sir Guiscard d'Angle, sir Louis de Harcourt, the lords de

Partenay, de Tannybouton, d'Argenton, de Pinane, sir James de Surgeres, and several others. They were full two hundred lances, and were seeking for the French; for they had had information they were out on an excursion, and were then following the traces of their horses. They came forwards, therefore, with displayed banners fluttering in the wind, and marching in a disorderly manner.

The moment the Bretons and French saw them, they knew them for their enemies, the barons and knights of Poitou. They therefore said to the English, "You see that body of men coming to your assistance: we know we cannot withstand them: therefore," calling each by his name, "you are our prisoners; but we give you your liberty, on condition that you take care to keep us company; and we surrender ourselves to you, for we have it more at heart to give ourselves up to you than to those who are coming." They answered, "God's will be done." The English thus obtained their liberty.

The Poitevins soon arrived, with their lances in their rests, shouting their war-cries; but the Bretons and French, retreating on one side, said, "Hola! stop, my lords: we are prisoners already." The English testified to the truth of this by adding, "It is so; they belong to us." Carnet was prisoner to sir Bertrand de Cassilies, and sir Louis de St. Julien to sir John Chambo: there was not one but who had his master.

These barons and knights of Poitou were struck with grief when they saw their seneschal, sir John Chandos, lying in so doleful a way, and not able to speak. They began grievously to lament his loss, saying, "Flower of knighthood! oh, sir John Chandos!

cursed be the forging of that lance which wounded thee, and which has thus endangered thy life!" Those, who were around the body, most tenderly bewailed him, which he heard, and answered with groans, but could not articulate a word. They wrung their hands, and tore their hair, uttering cries and complaints, more especially those who belonged to his household.

Sir John Chandos was disarmed very gently by his own servants, laid upon shields and targets, and carried at a foot's pace to Mortemer, the nearest fort to where they were. The other barons and knights returned to Poitiers, carrying with them their prisoners. I heard that James Martin, he who had wounded sir John Chandos, suffered so much from his wounds, that he died at Poitiers.

That gallant knight only survived one day and night. God have mercy on his soul! for never since a hundred years did there exist among the English one more courteous, nor fuller of every virtue and good quality than him.

When the prince, princess, earls of Cambridge and Pembroke, and the other English knights in Guienne, heard of this event, they were completely disconcerted, and said, they had now lost every thing on both sides of the sea. Sir John was sincerely regretted by his friends of each sex; and some lords in France bewailed his loss. Thus it happens through life. The English loved him for all the excellent qualities he was possessed of. The French hated him, because they were afraid of him. Not but that I have heard him at the time regretted by renowned knights in France; for they said it was great pity he was slain, and that, if he could have been taken prisoner, he was so wise and

full of devices, he would have found some means of establishing a peace between France and England, and was so much beloved by the king of England and his court, that they would have believed what he should have said in preference to all others. Thus were the French and English great losers by his death, for never have I heard otherwise; but the English the most; for by his valour and prudence, Guienne might have been totally recovered *.

* Sir John Chandos was buried at Mortemer. Underneath is his epitaph, from Les Annales d'Aquitaine, par Bouchet.

Je Jehan Chandault, des Anglois capitaine, Fort chevalier, de Poictou seneschal, Après avoir fait guerre tres lointaine Au rois françois, tant a pied qu' a cheval, Et pres Bertrand du Guesclin en un val, Les Poitevins, près Lussac, me diffirent, A Mortemer, mons corps enterrer firent, En un cercueil elève tout de neuf, L'an mil trois cens avec seixante neuf.

He founded and endowed the Carmelite convent at Poitiers.

"He was never married. Elizabeth and Eleanor, two of his sisters, (the latter being the wife of sir Roger Collins), and Isabella, daughter to Margaret, the third sister, at that time married to sir John Annesley, were found to be his next heirs." Barnes.—Translator's note.

There are some genealogical mistakes in this note, but this is not the place to correct them. Leland says, "There were dyvars knights of fame of the Chaundois afore the time of him, that was in Edward the Third's days, a noble warrior. This Chandois dyed without issue, and left his two sisters heirs, whereof one was married to Bridges, and the other to Pole. Bridges had Cowberlie and other lands to the value of 300 marks by the yere. Pole had Rodburne, within four miles of Darby. Chaundois in his old writings nameth himself Vicecomitem S. Salvatoris.—Chaundois had lands in or about Herefordshire; and he was founder, as I remember, of Goldclyve Priory in Wales, and here, as I think, was his first and chief howse.

Lord Thomas Percy was appointed seneschal of Poitou, after the death of Sir John Chandos. His estates of St. Sauveur le Vicomte fell to the king of England, who gave them to one of his own knights, by name Sir Aleyne Boxhall, * a wonderful able man. The Prince of Wales succeeded to the other riches of Sir John Chandos, as he was never married, and therefore had no children, to the amount of four hundred thousand francs. †

Shortly afterwards those captains who had been made prisoners at the bridge of Lussac were ransomed, and received their freedom on paying down the sums agreed on, in which the king of France assisted them. Sir Louis de St. Julien, Sir William des Bourdes, and Carnet le Breton returned to their garrisons."

The old howse of Rodburne is of no great thinge, but the last Chaundois began in the same lordshipe a mighty large howse of stone with a wonderful cost, as it yet apperithe by foundations of a man's height standinge yet as he lefte them. He had thought to have made of his olde place a college." There is a castle a mile and more beneth Dorston, upon the right ripe of Dour, (Co. Heref.) it is called Snothin, and there is a park wallyd, &c. &c. See Lel. Itin. Vol. 8. f. 70—89, &c. Here also are some mistakes, and a confusion of branches. But I forbear to rectify them now. Editor.

* Sir Aleyne Boxhall was the fifty-second Knight of the Garter, constable of the tower of London, custos of the parks of Clarendon, &c. He lies buried near St. Erkenwald's shrine in St. Paul's church, about 1380.

Sir Aleyne Boxhall had a commission to restrain the excesses of Charles de Navarre in Normandy, and to put the castle in good repair, dated the 24th of Nov. 1370. Rymer.

† I should imagine Froissart must mean that the Prince inherited all he possessed in Aquitaine, &c. but his sister's children were his heirs in England.

VOL. IV.

The literary world are very truly obliged to Mr. Johnes for this honourable occupation of his time and money. The two volumes already published by him extend no farther than the contents of the first volume of Lord Berners. Both translations are curious and valuable: the last was no doubt a great desideratum; the scarcity and high price of the former; the repulsive appearance of the black letter: and the total want of breaks and paragraphs, rendered the perusal of it a task of labour which few had the patience to encounter; and the want of notes was a defect which required amendment. the same time the diligent investigator of the progress of the English language, the lover of the agés of chivalry, and of that romantic cast of expressions and manners and feats, of which Lord Berners was himself a speaker, a spectator, and an actor, will always secure an increasing rather than a diminished interest for his venerable work. And were a new impression of it in modern types, and with due arrangement of paragraphs, and judicious critical and historical illustrations, given to the world,* it would afford one of the most entertaining and instructive treasures of our ancient literature, without at all depreciating the value and attraction of Mr. Johnes's most liberal and praise-worthy undertaking +.

undertaking.

^{*} This has since been done under the care of Mr. Utterson (1815).

† The Edinburgh Review, in a criticism of this work, altogether just, and indeed candid, Vol 5. p. 347, truly remarks, that "Lord Berners's version is the pure and nervous English of that early period, and deserves to be carefully consulted by the philologist." But the critic, when he complains of the omission, by Mr. Johnes, of Froissart's Life, does not seem aware that the translator had already published a Memoir of the Historian as introductory to his

ART. CCLIX. The pleasant Historie of the Conquest of the Weast India, now called new Spayne, atchieved by the worthy Prince Hernando Cortes, Marques of the valley of Huaxacac, most delectable to reade: Translated out of the Spanishe tongue*, by T. N. Anno 1578. Imprinted at London by Henry Bynneman, 1578. 4to. pp. 405. besides dedication, table, &c.

This translation, by Thomas Nicholas, which at the present crisis of our foreign acquirements, has a more than usual claim upon attention, is thus dedicated,

"To the Right Honourable Sir Francis Walsingham, Knight, principall Secretary to the Queenes most excellent Majestie, and one of her Highnesse most Honourable privie Counsell."

"Whilest I abode, right Honorable, in the isle of Palma, in affaires of merchandize for the worshipfull Thomas Lock deceased, and his company time then permitted me to have conference with auncient gentlemen, which had served in the conquest of the Weast India, now called New Spaine, under the princely Captaine Hernando Cortes. By whom, as present witnesses of many of the actes herein contained, I was credibly informed, that this delectable and worthie Historie is a most true and just report of matter past in effect: wherefore I did the more willingly turne over and peruse the same, which is

^{*} Of Bernal Diaz de Castillo. See the useful Catalogue of Voyages and Travels appended to Clarke's Progress of Maritime Discovery, p. 186. But see postea, p. 43.

a mirrour and an excellent president for all such as shall take in hand to governe new Discoveries: for here they shall behold, how glory, renowne, and perfit felicitie, is not gotten but with great paines, travaile, peril and daunger of life: here they shall see the wisdome, curtesie, valour, and pollicie of worthy Captaines; yea, and the faithful hearts which they ought to beare unto their prince's service. Heere also is described how to use and correct the stubborn and mutinous persons, and in what order to exalt the good, stout, and virtuous souldiours, and chiefly how to preserve and keepe that beautifull Dame, Ladie Victorie, when she is obtained. where it was supposed, that the golden mettall had his beginning and place in the East and West India, neare unto the hote Zoan, as most learned writers held opinion, it is now approoved by the venterous travellour and worthie Captaine Martin Frobisher, Esquier, yea, and also through the great paines, procurement, and first invention of the worshipfull Michael Locke, merchant, that the same golden mettall dooth also lie incorporate in the bowels of the north-west parties, environed with admirable towers, pillars, and pinacles, of rockes, stone, and ise, possessed of a people both straunge and rare in. shape, attire, and living; yea such a countrey and people, as al Europe had forsaken and made no account of, except our most gracious Queene and her subjects, whom undoubtedly God hath appointed not onely to be supreame princesse over them, but also to be a meane that the name of Christ may bee known unto this heathenish and savage generation.

"Not long since, right Honorable, I happened to travell from the famous citie of Toledo in Spaine, towarde high Castele, and by fortune overtooke an auncient gentleman, worshipfully accompanied, unto whom I was so bolde as to approch, beseeching his Worship to advertise me of his journey: who, after hee had behelde my white head and beard, answered full gently, that his intent was to travell unto the King of Spaine's court; and welcomed me unto his companie. In short space, that we had journeied together, and communed of each other his countrey, it pleased him to say as followeth: 'My good friend, if you knewe my sute unto the king's Majestie, you would judge, that I were a madman; and therefore to shorten our way, I will declare my attempted sute unto you. You shall understand, that I am a gentleman of threescore and ten yeares of age, and sometimes I served in the civil warres of Pirru, where I was wounded in diverse parts of my bodie, and am now therby lame in one of my legges and shoulder. I have neither wife nor childe, and at this present, God be praised, I have in the Contractation-House, in the citie of Sivell, in golde and plate, the summe of thirty thousand duckets: and I have also in Pirru in good landes and possessions the yearly rent of twelve thousand duckets, which rents and readie money is sufficient to mainteine'a poore Gentleman. But al this notwithstanding, I do now sue unto the King's Majestie to have a licence and authoritie to discover and conquer a certaine part of India, which adjoyneth with Brazile, and is part of the empire of Pirru. I pray you nowe declare what you think of my sute.' 'By my troth,

sir,' quoth I, ' I trust your worship will pardon a rash and suddene judgement, which you now demaund at my hand.' 'Yea, truly,' quoth he, 'say what you list.' 'Then,' quoth I, 'my opinion is, that you are not well in your wit; for what would you have? Will not reason suffice you? Or els would you now in your old daies be an emperor. considering that your sepulchre attendeth for you.' Now truly I thank you, quoth he, for of your judgement are most men: but I say unto you, considering that all flesh must finish. I seek for no quiet rest in this transitory life: yea, the wise and Christian doctors doe teach and admonish, that every true Christian is born, not for his own private wealth and pleasure, but rather to help and succour others his poore brethren. Likewise do I consider the great number of gentlemen yonger brethren, and other valiant persons, who, through want of living, doe fall into many disorders. Wherefore to accomplish my duty towarde God and my prince, and to relieve such poore gentlemen, doe I now attempt this journey, with the adventure of my bodie and goods; and for that purpose I have in readiness foure tall ships, well furnished, in the port of S. Lucar de Barrameda, hoping assuredly, that before the life depart out of my bodie, to heare these valiant yong gentlemen, whom new I mean to have in my company, say, 'Oh happie day, when old Zarate, for so is my name, brought us from penury; yea, and from a number of perils, that we were like to fall into!' I hope also, that the royall estate of my prince shall bee by my paines, and poore service, enlarged: beleeve you me, this is the onelie

sumptuous tumbe that I pretend to build for my poore carkas. But yet I know there are some, unto whom I may compare the bore that lieth wallowing in the stie, who will not let to say; 'what need we any other world, honour, or kingdoms? Let us be contented with that we have.' Who may easily be answered, 'Sir Glutton, your panch is full; and little care you for the glorie of God, honour of your Prince, neither the need and necessitie of your poore neighbours.' With this conclusion the gentleman ended his tale; the judgement whereof I leave to noble gentlemen, his peeres, to be determined.

"And where our Captaine Hernando Cortes, of whose valiant acts this Historie treateth, hath deserued immortal fame, euen so doubtlesse I hope, that within this happie realme is nowe liuing a gentleman, whose zeale of trauell and valiant beginning doth prognosticate great, maruellous, and happie successe: for perfection of honour and profit is not gotten in one day, nor in one or two voyages, as the true histories of the east and west conquests by Spaniardes and Portingals doe testifie. And calling to remembrance the great zeale and good will which your honour hath alwaies extended to good and profitable attempts, and especially in the proceedings of the new discoveries, your honor hath not only used liberality in your adventures, but also taken great paines in court to advance and further the voiage, a number I say of gentlemen, mariners, and other artificers, shall have great cause to pray for your honour. And where I for my part have tasted of your honor's goodness sundrie waies, I

am now most humblie to beseech your honor to accept this poore gift, the which I have translated out of the Spanish tongue, not decked with gallant colours, nor yet filed with pleasant phrase of Rhetorike, for these things are not for poore merchant trauellers, but are reserved to learned writers: yet I trust the author will pardon me, because I haue gone as neare the sense of this historie, as my cunning would reach unto. I also craue, that it may please your honour, when your great and waighty matters will permit, to behold this worke, and that shall be for me an encouragement to take in hand the translation of the East India, which is now enjoyed by the King of Portingale. Thus I end, beseeching the Almightie to preserue your honorable estate.

Your honors most readie at commandement ,Thomas Nicholas."

To the Reader.

"I thought it good, gentle Reader, to advertise thee to consider in reading this history, that Hernando Cortes was not the firste, that did discover the newe Spaine, for after the Ilands of Santo Domingo, and Cuba were discovered, conquered, and inhabited by the Spanyards, Hernando Cortes was then a dweller in the iland of Santo Domingo; and at that time was governoure in the Iland of Cuba, one James Velasques, who had understanding (by others) that neere unto those Ilands stoode a firm land, rich of golde and plate, whereupon the same Velasques prepared certain ships, and in them sent for General, a kinsman of his, called John de Gri-

jalva, who with one Francisco Hernandez de Cordova, discovered the said firm land in trafike of marchandise; and for things of little value, he broughte great treasure, as shall appeare in an inventoric placed in this historie.

"This Grijalva pretended not to conquer, nor yet to inhabite, but only to fill his hungry bellie with golde and silver; for if he had pretended honour, then Cortes had not enjoyed the perpetuall fame which now is his, although his corpse be clothed in clay.

"In this Historie doth appeare the simplicitie of those ignorant Indians in times past, yea and how they were deluded in worshipping idolles and wicked mamon, their bloudie slaughter of men in sacrifice, and how the greate mercie of Jesus Christ extended upon them in lightning their darknesse, giving them knowledge of the eternitie, and holy trinitie in unitie, whereby they are nowe more devoute unto heavenly things then we wretched Christians, (who presume of auntiente Christianity) especially in charitie, humilitie, and lively works of faith.

"And now, gentle reader, I do for my part but only crave, that it may please thee to accept these my paines taken, in good part; for other benefite I seek not. Farewell.

T. N."

After the Address to the Reader are the following Commendatory Verses, not mentioned by Ritson.

" Stephen Gosson in praise of the Translator.

The Poet, which sometimes hath trod awry, And sung in verse the force of fiery love, When he beholds his lute with careful eye,
Thinks on the dumps that he was wont to prove.
His groaning sprite yprickt with tender ruth
Calls then to mind the follies of his youth.

The hardy mind, with all his honour got
In bloody field by fruit of deadly jar,
When once he hears the noise of thirled shot,
And threatning trumpet sound the points of war,
Remembers how thro' pikes he lov'd to run,
When he the price of endless glory won.

The Traveller, which ne'er refus'd the pain

To pass the danger of the straits he found,

But hoisted sail to search the golden vein,

Which Nature's craft hath hidden in the ground:

When he perceives Don Cortez here so pert,

May well be mindful of his own desert.

Then yield we thanks to Nicholas for his toil,
Who strings the lute that putteth us in mind.
How doting days have given us all the soil,
Whilst learned wits in foreign lands do find,
That labour bears away the golden fleece,
And is rewarded with the flower of Greece.

Lo! here the trump of everlasting fame,
That rends the air in sunder with his blast,
And throws abroad the praises of their name,
Which oft in fight have made their foes aghast.
Though they be dead, their glory shall remain,
To rear aloft the deeds of haughty Spain.

Lo! here the traveller, whose painful quill So lively paints the Spanish Indies out, That English gentlemen may view at will The manly prowess of that gallant rout: And when the Spaniard vaunteth of his gold, Their own renown in him they [will] behold."

These lines appear to me to possess merit for their day. They are followed by these in Latin:

"In Thomæ Nicholai occidentalem Indiam Stephan.
Gosson.

Sordescant Cræsi radiantia tecta Pyropo,
Et jaceat rutili pompa superba Mydæ.
Aurea felici volventur sæcula cursu,
Pactoli assidue flumina vera tument.
Terra ferax pandit, sua viscera plena metallis
Prægnans, divitias parturit illa suas.
India luxuriat, locupleti prole triumphat,
Pingue solum gemmis, fundere gestit opes.
Ovos, qui patriæ cupitis fulcire ruinam,
Et dare mella bonis aurea, mentis ape,
Cortezi hos animo cupide lustrate labores,
Postque, reluctanti credite vela salo."

ART. CCLX. Old Spanish Historians of the Discovery of the New World.

In the Note to the last article (p. 35) I have ascribed the original of Nicholas's Translation of the Conquest of New Spain, to Bernal Diaz del Castillo: but I have since had reason to think I have committed an error. I am unacquainted with Spanish literature, but recollecting that Colonel Keatinge had lately translated that historian, I consulted the extracts in the account of that work in Brit. Crit. Vol. XVII. p. 27, 151-252, and found

them, though, in some respects, coincident with Nicholas, yet in others materially variant; and on referring to Robertson's America, I find a fact which induces me to attribute the work to Gomara. When Cortez was first driven out of Mexico, Robertson says, that B. Diaz states his loss of Spaniards at 870 men, whereas Gomara states them at only 450. Now Nicholas, in p. 278, has the following paragraph on the subject.

"This sorrowful night, which was the tenth of July, in An. 1520, were slain about 450 Spaniards, 4000 Indian friends, and 46 horse, yea, and (as I judge) all the prisoners, which were in his companie." I cannot resist transcribing the remainder of this account.

"If this mishap," he proceeds "had fortuned in the day-time, possible so many, and so great a number had not perished. But where it fortuned by night, the noise of the wounded was sorrowfull, and of the victors horrible and fearful. The Indians cried "Victory," calling upon their divelish and filthie gods with joy and pleasure: our men, being overcome, cursed their unfortunate lot, yea, the hower and he that brought them thither; others cried unto God for succour; others said, 'helpe, helpe, for I stande in daunger of drowning.' I know not certainly, whether mo perished in the water or the lande, hoping to save themselves by swimming and leaping over the sluices and broken places, for they say that a Spaniarde was no sooner in the water, but an Indian was upon his backe. They have great dexteritie and skill in swimming, so, that catching

any Spaniard in the water, they would take him by the one arm, and carry him whither they pleased, yea and wold unpanch him in the water. If these Indians had not occupied themselves in taking the spoyle of those that were fallen and slaine, certainly one Christian had not escaped that day. But in fine the greatest number of Spaniards that were killed were those that went most laden with gold plate and other jewels; and those that escaped, were they that carried least burdens, and the first that with noble courage made way to passe through the troupe of Indians."

Having entered so far upon this subject, it may not be out of place to insert Robertson's Note, concerning the authors who wrote on the Conquest of New Spain, at length.

Account of the Spanish Historians of the Conquest of Mexico, by Dr. Robertson.

"Our knowledge of the events, which happened in the Conquest of New Spain, is derived from sources of information more original and authentic than that of any transaction in the history of America. The letters of Cortes to the Emperor Charles V. are the most valuable of these, and the first in order of time. As Cortes early assumed a command independent of Velasquez, it became necessary to convey such an account of his operations to Madrid, as might procure him the approbation of his sovereign.

"The first of his dispatches has never been made public. It was sent from Vera Cruz, July 16, 1519. It must have come to the Emperor's hands, while he

was in Germany, as he left Spain on the 22d of May in that year, in order to receive the imperial crown. I have made diligent search for a copy of this dispatch, both in Spain and in Germany, but without This, however, is of less consequence, as it could not contain any thing very material, being written so soon after Cortes arrived in New Spain. The second dispatch, dated Oct. 30th, 1520, was published at Seville, A.D. 1522, and the third and fourth soon after they were received. A Latin translation of them appeared in Germany, A.D. 1532. Ramusio soon after made them more generally known, by inserting them in his valuable collection. They contain a regular and minute history of the expedition, with many curious particulars concerning the policy and manners of the Mexicans. work does honour to Cortes: the style is simple and perspicuous; but as it was manifestly his interest to represent his own actions in the fairest light, his victories are probably exaggerated, his losses diminished, and his acts of rigour and violence somewhat softened.

"The next in order is the Cronica de la Nueva Espagna, by Francisco Lopez de Gomara, published A. D. 1554. Gomara's historical merit is considerable. His mode of narration is clear, flowing, always agreeable, and sometimes elegant. But he is frequently inaccurate and credulous; and as he was the domestic chaplain of Cortes after his return from New Spain, and probably composed his work at his desire, it is manifest that he labours to magnify the merit of his hero, and to conceal or extenuate such transactions as were unfavourable to his character.

Of this Herrera accuses him in one instance, Dec. II. Lib. III. c. 2, and it is not once only that this is conspicuous. He writes, however, with so much freedom concerning several measures of the Spanish Court, that the copies both of his Historia de las Indias, and of his Cronica, were called in by a decree of the council of the Indies, and they were long considered as prohibited books in Spain, though of late licence to print them has been granted. Pinelo Biblioth. 589.

"The Chronicle of Gomara induced Bernal Diaz del Castillo to compose his Historia Verdadera de la Conquista de la Nueva Espagna. He had been an adventurer in each of the expeditions to New Spain, and was the companion of Cortes in all his battles and perils. When he found that neither he himself, nor many of his fellow-soldiers were once mentioned by Gomara, but that the same of all their exploits was ascribed to Cortes, the gallant old veteran laid hold of his pen with indignation, and composed his true history. It contains a prolix, minute, confused, narrative of all Cortes's operations, in such a rude vulgar style as might be expected from an illiterate soldier. But as he relates transactions of which he was witness, and in which he performed a considerable part, his account bears all the marks of authenticity, and is accompanied with such a pleasant naivetè, with such interesting details, with such amusing vanity, and yet so pardonable in an old soldier who had been, (as he boasts) in an hundred and nineteen battles, as renders his book one of the most singular that is to be found in any language.

"Pet. Martyr ab Angleria, in a Treatise de Insulis nuper Inventis, added to his Decades de rebus Oceanis & novo orbe, gives some account of Cortes's expedition. But he proceeds no further than to relate what happened after his first landing. This work, which is brief and slight, seems to contain the information transmitted by Cortes in his first dispatches, embellished with several particulars communicated to the author by the officers who brought the letters from Cortes.

"But the book towards which the greater part of modern historians have had recourse for information concerning the conquest of New Spain, is, Historia de la Conquista de Mexico, per D. Antonio de Solis, first published A. D. 1684. I know no author in any language, whose literary fame has risen so far bevond his real merit. De Solis is reckoned by his countrymen one of the purest writers in the Castilian tongue; and if a foreigner may venture to give his opinion concerning a matter, of which Spaniards alone are qualified to judge, he is entitled to that But though his language be correct, his taste in composition is far from being just. periods are so much laboured, as to be often stiff, and sometimes tumid; the figures which he employs by way of ornament, are trite or improper, and his observations superficial. These blemishes, however, might easily be overlooked, if he were not defective with respect to all the great qualities of an historian. Destitute of that patient industry in research, which conducts to the knowledge of truth; a stranger to that impartiality which weighs evidence with cool attention, and ever eager to establish his favourite system of exalting the character of Cortes into that of a perfect hero, exempt from error, and adorned with every virtue, he is less solicitous to discover what is true, than to relate what might appear splendid. When he attempts any critical discussion, his reasonings are fallacious, and founded upon an imperfect view of facts. Though he sometimes quotes the dispatches of Cortes, he seems not to have consulted them; and though he sets out with some censure on Gomara, he frequently prefers his authority, the most doubtful of any, to that of the other cotemporary historians.

"But of all the Spanish writers, Herrera furnishes the fullest and most accurate information concerning the conquest of Mexico, as well as every other transaction in America. The industry and attention with which he consulted not only the books, but the original papers and public records, which tended to throw any light upon the subject of his inquiries, were so great, and he usually judges of the evidence before him with so much impartiality and candour, that his Decades may be ranked among the most judicious and useful historical collections. tempting to relate the various occurrences in the New World, in a strict chronological order, the arrangement of events in his work had not been rene dered so perplexed, disconnected, and obscure, that it is an unpleasant task to collect from different parts of his book, and piece together the detached shreds of a story, he might justly have been ranked among the most eminent historians of his country. He gives an account of the materials from VOL. IV.

which he composed his work, Dec. VI. Lib. III. c. 19."*

De Bure only mentions two of these works in the following words:

- "Historia de los Hechos de los Castellanos en las islas y Tierra firme del Mare Oceano en VIII. Decadas, desde el anno 1492 hasta el de 1554, por Antonio de Herrera. En Madrid, en la Emprenta Real, 1601—1615. 8 tom. en 4 vol. in fol."
- "Historia de la Conquista del Mexico de D. Antonio de Solis, en Madrid, 1684, in fol."
- "La Misma Historia de la conquista del Mexico de D. Antonio de Solis, con estampas y la vida del Autor, por Juan de Goyeneche. En Brusselas, 1704, in fol."
- "Des deux Editions que nous indiquons ici de l'Histoire de la conqueste de Mexique, la premiere est la plus estimée, parcequ'on l'a croit plus correcte; mais la seconde est plus communèment recherchée, attendu qu'elle joint à l'avantage d'être ornée de figures, celui d'être beaucoup mieux exécutée. On peut conclure de là, que les deux Editions doivent être rassemblées dans un Cabinet choisi."† De Bure, Bibl. Instruct. Histoire, II. 264.

It seems that a collection of these original His-

^{*} Robertson's Hist. Amer. 4to. Vol. II. p. 445. Herrera was translated by Stephens, 6 vols. 8vo. London. 1740.

[†] There was a French Translation "Histoire de la Conqueste du Mexique, ou de la Nouvelle Espagne, trad. de l'Espagnol de Don Antonio de Solis, en François par M. Citri de la Guette. Paris, 1691, in 4to, fig." Ibid. p. 265.

torians entitled "Historiadores Primitivos de las Indias Occidentales, by D. And. Gonzal. Barcia," was published at Madrid in 3 vols. fol. 1749.

But a modern translation of one of these historians remains to be particularized, which, as it has received the high praise of an eminent poet, deserves attention. This is

"The true History of the Conquest of Mexico, by Captain Bernal Dias del Castillo, one of the Conquerors. Written in the year 1568. Translated from the original Spanish, by Maurice Keatinge, Esq. 4to. pp. 514. London. 1800."

The Historian says he "brought his history to a conclusion in the loyal city of Guatimala, the residence of the royal Court of Audience, on Feb. 6, 1572."

It seems, from this authentic writer, as here exhibited, and indeed from other authorities, that Robertson represented the character of Montezmua in by far too unfavourable a light, while he has been too partial to that of Cortes. "The character of the Monarch," say the British Critics, " is highly amiable: frank, generous, and unsuspecting, he forms a perfect contrast with the gloomy, perfidious, sordid and cold-blooded Cortes, who is a traitor upon argument, and a murderer upon calculation. Robertson relates the seizure of the Prince; but he attributes it, with the Spanish historians, or rather the glossers over of Spanish enormities, to the news of the defeat of Juan de Esculante. The doctor had certainly read Diaz, and, to do him justice, makes good use of the old soldier on many occasions; how is it then that he did not consult him on this?"

These Critics conclude in the following words. "How it has happened that the cold, declamatory, and faithless narrative of Antonio de Solis should be naturalized in this country, while the invaluable pages of this honest veteran were only known by Dr. Robertson's extracts, we cannot take upon us to say. Possibly the rudeness of the style might repel the common reader; and indeed it required much knowledge of the Spanish tongue to fit the author for an English ear. This knowledge, however, the ingenious translator (Mr. Keatinge) possesses in an eminent degree; and while we warmly recommend "The true History of the Conquest of Mexico," to the notice of our readers, we cannot refuse our tribute of applause to the fidelity, spirit, dexterity, and judgment, with which so important a work has been justly made our own."*

In their last Review (Nov. 1806, p. 491) the same Critics add, that "in the energetic and glowing description of Bernal Diaz, we follow the real Conqueror of Mexico with trembling delight; we see his perils, and are animated by the prodigies of valour exhibited on every side."

Mr. Southey has also consecrated the original and his late translator, in a note to his Madoc. "The true History of the Conquest of Mexico," says he, "is indeed a delightful work, and the only account of that transaction, on which we can rely; yet because it appeared without any of those scandalous puffs which disgrace our presses, and teach our literati how to think, it mouldered on the shelf."

^{*} Brit. Crit. Vol. XVII. p. 261.

[†] I intend hereafter, with the aid of De Bure, and the learned

ART. CCLXI. A new Survey of the West-Indias: or the English American his Travail by sea and land: containing a Journal of three thousand and three hundred miles within the main land of America. Wherein is set forth his Voyage from Spain to St. John de Ulhua; and from thence to Xalappa, to Tlaxcalla, the city of Angels, and forward to Mexico; with the description of that great city, as it was in former times, and also at this present. Likewise, his Journey from Mexico, through the Provinces of Guaxala, Chiapa, Guatemala, Vera Paz, Truxillo, Comayagua; with his abode twelve years about Guatemala, and especially in the Indian Towns of Mixco, Pinola, Petapa, Amatitlan. As also his strange and wonderful conversion and calling from those remote parts, to his native countrey. With his return through the Province of Necaragua, and Costa Rica, to Nicoya, Panama, Portobelo, Cartagena, and Havana, with divers occurrents and dangers, that did befal in the said Journey. Also a new and exact Discovery of the Spanish Navigation to those parts. And of their dominions, government, religion, forts, castles, ports, havens, commodities, fashions, behaviour of Spaniards, Priests, and Friers, Blackmores, Mulattos, Mestisos, Indians, and of their feasts and solemnities. With a Grammar, or some few rudiments of the Indian tongue, called Poconelic, or Pocoman. The Second Edition, en-

work of Mr. Clarke, to give an account of De Bry's invaluable collection, entitled "India Orientalis, & Occidentalis," in 7 vols. fol. of which complete sets scarcely ever occur; though Mr. White had one not long ago. A complete set has sold for 300 guineas.

larged by the Author, and beautified with Maps. By the true and painful endevours of Thomas Gage, Preacher of the Word of God at Deal, in the County of Kent. London: Printed by E. Cotes, and sold by John Sweeting, at the Angel, in Pope's Head Alley, 1655, Fol. pp. 220, besides Epistle Dedicatory, Commendatory Verses, and Contents.

In the next article will be found some account of the author of this work.

In the copy, here used, is the following notice.

" Westwell, May 9, 1756.

"I have been at the expense of rebinding this book in the best manner, because I look upon the author to have been a truly honest man, and that he put it together with a very pious design: and for these reasons, I am desirous that, with the name of the faithful and well-meaning Thomas Gage, may live united that of

SAYER RUDD."*

This author was descended from Robert Gage of Haling in Surry, third son of Sir John Gage of Firle in Sussex, who died 1557. John Gage of Haling in Surry, younger son of Edward, was his father. Lord Clarendon has recorded the memory of his elder brother Sir Henry, Governor of Oxford, who was slain at Culham Bridge, Jan. 11, 1644, et. 47.

The work is dedicated to Thos. Lord Fairfax, and

^{*}He was vicar of Westwell, Kent, and died 1757—a man of character, and literature.

followed by commendatory verses, by Thomas Chaloner, which have some merit.

The next article will explain more.

ART. CCLXII. Nouvelle Relation contenant les Voyages de Thomas Gage dans la nouvelle Espagne, ses diverses avantures; & son retour par la Province de Nicaragua, jusques a la Havane. Avec la description de la Ville de Mexique, telle qu'elle etoit autrefois, & comme elle est à present. Ensemble une description exacte des Terres & Provinces que possedent les Espagnols en toute l'Amerique, de la forme de leur Gouvernement Ecclesiastique & Politique, de leur Commerce, de leurs Mœurs, & de celles des Criolles, des Metifs, des Mulatres, des Indiens, & des Negres. A Amsterdam, chez Paul Marret, 1695. 2 vols. 12mo.

In this edition there are a great number of very curious engravings, both of events relating to the narrative and of places, and several maps. It is dedicated to Monseigneur de Witsen, formerly embassador from the States General to their Britannic Majesties. The translation was made, by the command of the French Minister Colbert, by Monsieur de Beaulieu Hues O'Neil. He altered the title and the division of the chapters, and omitted some of Gage's digressions. There is, probably, a mistake in the date of one of the volumes, for the second volume is dated 1694, and the first 1695.

Gage was younger brother of the Governor of Oxford in 1645. He studied in Spain, and became a Dominican monk. From thence he departed with

a design to go to the Philippine Islands as a missionary in 1625; but, on his arrival at Mexico, he heard so bad an account of those islands, and was so much delighted with New Spain, that he abandoned his original design, and contented himself with a less dangerous mission.

At length being tired of this mode of life, he earnestly sought leave to return to England to preach the gospel among his countrymen; but this he could not obtain; and therefore resolved to take his first opportunity and come away unknown. With this design, he says, "I lived above a twelvemonth in Petapa, with great ease, pleasure, and content, for all things outward; but within I had still a worm of conscience, gnawing this gourd, that shadowed, and delighted me with worldly contentment. Here I grew more and more troubled concerning some points of religion, daily wishing with David, that I had the wings of a dove, that I might fly from that place of daily idolatry into England, and be at rest." This he at length effected.

He only remained ten days at St. Lucar, where he landed, and then, having purchased a secular English dress, returned on board an English ship to Dover, and thence to London, after an absence of nearly twenty-four years, in which he had quite lost the use of his native language. This was in 1637.

On his return to his native country, he found himself unnoticed in his father's will, forgotten by some of his relations, and with difficulty acknowledged by others. After a little time, not being able to satisfy his religious doubts, and disgusted with the great power of the Papists, he resolved to take another journey to Italy, to "try what better satisfaction he could find for his conscience at Rome in that religion." At Loretto his conversion from poperv was fixed by proving the fallacy of the miracles attributed to the picture of our Lady there: on which he immediately returned home once more: and preached his recantation sermon at St. Paul's, by order of the Bishop of London. He continued above a year in London, spending his own means, till "at last," says he, "I was fully satisfied, and much troubled to see that the Papists, and most of my kindred, were entertained at Oxford; and in other places in the King's dominions; whereupon I resolved upon a choice for the Parliament's cause, which now in their lowest estate and condition I am not ashamed to acknowledge. From their hands, and by their order, I received a benefice, in which I have continued almost four years, preaching constantly for a thorough reformation intended by them, which I am ready to witness with the best drops of blood in my veins, to whom I desire this my history may be a better witness of my sincerity, and that by it I may perform what our Saviour Christ spake to Peter, saying, " And thou, being converted, strengthen thy brethren."

He was probably rector of Deal, in Kent, where he lived: for in the register of that parish, there is the following entry:

"Mary, the daughter of Mr. Thomas Gage, parson of Deale, and Mary his wife, buried March, 21, 1652."

When he says of himself, that he was determined

to lead a different life from that which he had his therto done, and to bid adieu to Spain, and to all Spanish manners; this must probably relate particularly to religion, * for he appears to have been a very good and pious man, and to have led a very regular life in the midst of great temptation. At Chiapa, a city between Mexico and Guatimala, a lady made love to him, and upon his receiving her overtures with coldness endeavoured to send him after the bishop of that place, who had been poisoned just before. His observation on leaving that city is not without point; an enormity of which it must be confessed the good missionary was not often guilty. He says that it merits no other praise but that of being peopled with idiots, and with women who are only skilful in making poisoned chocolate.

Gage seems to be a very accurate and faithful relator; but was also extremely credulous and superstitious. He gives some curious accounts of the power of the devil in sorceries and witchcrafts, in some of the Indian villages, which are not unlike what is recorded of the New England mania in the seventeenth century; and, I am sorry to add, of old England also in every century but the present, though not often attended with equally fatal consequences.

M. P.

^{*} While he was in New Spain he laments his being able to convert so few Indians, and attributes it to his not being able to preach the truth of the gospel for fear of the inquisition; upon which the translator remarks in a note, very justly, that "this reflection makes it doubtful whether the author was a true Catholic.",

ART. CCLXIII. The Historie of two the moste noble Capitaines of the worlde, Anniball and Scipio: of theyr dyvers battailes and victories: excedyng profitable to reade: gathered and translated into Englishe out of Titus Livius and other authores, by Antonye Cope, esquier. Anno 1544. 4to. Colophon. Londoni. In ædibus Thomæ Bertheleti regii impressoris typis excusum. Anno verbi incarnati MDXLIIII.

In the list of early English translations, which now makes a part of the prolegomena to Shakspeare, * Mr. Steevens has dated this version of Cope's Livy, 1545. I have therefore cited both title and colophon, to shew the real date. Herbert + speaks of the book as a rarity: as a specimen of typography it confers far more credit on the printer, than do his recommendatory lines in the character of a poet.

" Tho. Berthelet on this Historie.

"Who so ever desireth for to rede
Marciall prowesse, feactes of chivalrie,
That maie hym profite at tyme of nede;
Lette hym in hande take this historie,
That sheweth the sleyghtes and policie,
The wily traynes of wyttie Anniball,
The crafty disceites full ofte wherby
He gave his puissant ennemies a falle.

Of woorthie stomache and courage valyaunt, Of noble herte and mannely enterprise, Of jentleness of mynde, sure and constaunt, Of governaunce prudent, ware, and wyse,

^{*} See Reed's edition, II. p. 111. + Typogr. Antiq. I. 447.

Shall fynde accordynge unto his devise
This prince Scipio, this myghty Romayne,
Whiche all for pleasure ever dydde dispyse,
In continence a lorde and souveraigne.

Lo thus maie menne playnly here beholde,
That wyly wytte, powre, guyle, nor policie,
Coulde Anniball ever styll upholde,
But that by Scipio's woorthy chivalrie,
His manhode, vertue, and dedes knyghtly,
He was subdued—there is no more to sayne:
And yet, to speake as trouth wyll verifye,
There was never founde a better capitayne."

The translation extends to 74 chapters, and is dedicated to his most redoubted soveraigne lorde. Henry the viii. by his right humble subjecte and servaunt Antony Cope," in seven pages. Any extract might be deemed superfluous.

T. P.

ART. CCLXIV. The Historie of Wyates Rebellion, with the order and maner of resisting the same, wherunto in the ende is added an earnest conference with the degenerate and sedicious rebelles for the serche of the cause of their daily disorder. Made and compyled by John Proctor. Mense Januarij Anno 1555. 12mo.

At the end. Imprynted at London, by Robert Caly, within the precincte of the late dissolved house of the graye freers nowe converted to an hospital, called Christes' Hospital. The x day of January, 1555. Cum privilegio ad imprimendum solum.

THE book is dedicated "To the most excellent and moste vertuous ladye our moste gracious Sove-

raigne, Marie, by the Grace of God, Quene of Englande, Fraunce, Naples, Hierusalem and Ireland, Defendour of the Faith, Princesse of Spayne and Sicilie, Archeduchesse of Austria, Duchesse of Millaine, Burgundie and Braband, Cou tesse of Haspurge, Flaunders and Tyrole, your Majisties most faythfull, lovynge, and obedient subjecte John Proctor, wisheth all grace, longe peace, quiet rayne, from God the Father, the Sonne, and the Holy Ghost."

In the dedication he expresses his horror at the wickedness of Wyatt and his accomplices, and says: "These general considerations moving other to indict and penne stories, moved me also to gather together and to register for memorie the merveilous practise of Wyat his detestable rebellio, litle inferiour to the most dangerous reported in any historie, either for desperate courage in the authour, or for the mostruous end purposed by this rebellion. Yet I thought nothing lesse at the beginning, then to publishe the same at this time or at this age, minding onely to gather notes therof where the truth mought be best knowen (for the which I have made earnest and diligent investigation) and to leave them to be published by others hereafter to the behof of our posterite. But hearing the sundrie tales thereof farre dissonaunt in the utteraunce, and many of them as far wide fro truth, facioned from the speakers to advaunce or deprave as they fantased the parties; and understadyng besydes what notable infamie spronge of this rebellio to the whole countre of Kent, and to every me bre of the same, where sundrie and many of them to mine owne knouledge

shewed themselves most faithfull and worthve subjectes, as by the story self shal evidently appeare. which either of hast or of purpose, were omitted in a printed booke late sette furth at Canterbury: I thought these to be special co sideracions whereby I ought of duety to my country, to copile and digest such notes as I had gathred concerning the rebellion, in some forme and fashion of historie, and to publish the same in this age and at thys present, cotrary to my first intert, as well that the very truth of that rebellious enterprise myght be throughly knowe, as that also the shire where that vile rebellion was practised, might by opening the ful truth in some part be delivered fro the infamy, which as by report I heare is made so general in other shires, as though very few of Kent uer fre from Wyates conspiracie."

Then follows an address to the "Loving Reader;" afterwards the detail of the rebellion to leaf 80.

Then

"An earnest conference with the degenerats and sedicious, for the serche of the cause of theyr greate disorder."

This is, in general, a mass of the most fulsome adulation to Queen Mary, for her numberless virtues, particularly her clemency and generosity. This concludes at leaf 91. Then follows, "A prosopey of Englande under the degenerat Englishe."

Proctor was schoolmaster of the free school at Tunbridge, and from his vicinity to the scene of action must have had a greater opportunity of knowing the particulars of the rebellion than many others. The other accounts of the rebellion, one of which he mentions as having been printed at Canterbury, do not, I fancy, now exist. W. S.

ART. CCLXV. A Report and Discourse, written by Roger Ascham, of the affaires and state of Germany, and the Emperour Charles his court; during certaine yeares while the sayd Roger was there. At London: Printed by John Daye, dwelling over Aldersgate. Cum grat. & privileg. Regiæ Majest. 4to. pp. 60.

In September 1550, the noted penman of this report, accompanied Sir Richard Morysine to Germany, when he went as ambassador from the court of England to Charles the Fifth. There Ascham continued three years; and, during that time, left nothing unattended to, which might serve to perfect his knowledge of men as well as books. 1552 he was requested by his particular friend, Mr. John Astely,* Master of the Jewel Office, to draw up an account of the political events which took place during his stay in Germany, and this account is described by Dr. Campbell to be "one of the most delicate pieces of history that ever was penned in our language, evincing its author to have been a man as capable of shining in the cabinet as in the closet." † As a brief historical document, faithfully deduced from personal observation, it is certainly of considerable value; yet perhaps the most interesting extract to general readers, will be As-

^{*} For whom see Gent. Mag. Vol. LXVII. + Biog. Brit. I. 284.

cham's prefatory statement of the qualifications essential to an historian. It is addressed to his friend John Astely.*

"When you and I read Livye together (if you do remember) after some reasoning we concluded both what was in our opinion to be looked for at his hand, that would well and advisedly write an history. First point was, to write nothing false: next, to be bold to say any truth: wherby is avoyded two great faults-flattery and hatred. For which two pointes Cæsar is read to his great prayse; and Jovius the Italian to his just reproch. Then to marke diligently the causes, counsels, acts, and issues, in all great attemptes: and in causes what is just or unjust; in counsels, what is purposed wisely or rashly; in actes, what is done couragiously or faintly; and of every issue, to note some generall lesson of wisedome and wariness, for lyke matters in time to come, wherin Polibius in Greeke, and Phillip Comines in French, have done the duties of wyse and worthy writers. Diligence also must be used in kepyng truly the order of tyme, and describyng lyvely, both the site of places and nature of persons, not onely for the outward shape of the body, but also for the inward disposition of the mynde, as Thucidides doth in many places very trimly; and Homer every where, and that alwayes most excellently, which observation is chiefly to be marked in him. And our Chaucer doth the same, very praise worthely: marke hym well, and conferre bym with any other that writeth in our tyme in

^{*} Blundevile partly addressed his " Port of Rest," 1561, to John Asteley, as a true lover of wisdom.

their proudest toung, whosoever lyst. The style must be always playne and open; yet some time higher and lower, as matters do ryse and fall. For if proper and naturall wordes, in well joyned sentences, do lyvely expresse the matter, be it trouble-some, quyet, angry, or pleasant, a man shal thincke not to be readyng, but present, in doyng of the same. And herein Livie of all other in any toung, by myne opinion, carieth away the prayse." T. P.

ART. CCLXVI. Les grandes Annalles ou Cronicques parlans tant de la grant Bretaigne a present nomee Angleterre que de nostre petite Bretaigne de present erigee en duche. Commencants au Roy Brutus, p'mier fondateur de tours: & comme il conquist ledict Royaulme de Bretaigne. Lequel a este tousjours gouverne par gens preux: hardis & vaillans. Et leurs faictz recuilliz par ges sages et discretz: dan en an depuis ledict Brutus et son nepoeu Turnus Jasques aux ans de present & du regne du trespreux & magnanime roy Francoys premier de ce nom. Et pareillement recuilly & redige par escript plusieurs faictz advenux: tat es royaulmes de France (Dagleterre) Despaigne (Descosse) (Darragon) Navarre: eș ytalies: en Löberdie en Iherusalem. Et entre aultres choses : des Papes: de leur election et estat. Et du tout jusques en lan de present Mil. V. Cens. xli. Nouvellement Imprimees.

> Aegidii vigothi hussonillis ad Britannos Epigramma.

Cedat Alexander, graiumque acerrimus aiax Romulus, ac belli fulmina scipiades,

YOL. IV.

Cedat et Augustus superum dignatus honore,
Et quos prisca duces secla tulere prins.
Hos precor annales evolve Britannia, clarum
Offendes generis stemma decusque tui.
Arturus extremis magnus quem Juppiter oris
Prefecit bello: viribus, arte, preit.
Heroas memori notos super ethera phama
Quid referam? lepidum cuncta volumen habet.
Quare si moveant patrum monime ta Brita nos,
Hunc acri relegant sedulitate librum.
Mil Cinq. Cens. xli.

Colophon. Il y finissent les correctes & additionnees Annalles ou Croniques de Bretaigne. Nouvellement reveues et corrigées: avec plusieurs adjoustemens. Et ont este achevees de Imprimer le neufies me jour de Juillet Mil cinq cens quarante et ung. Folio. B. L. 276 leaves, and many wooden cuts.

This curious work is divided into four books, of which the two first are chiefly occupied with the fabulous history of Brutus and his successors, not omitting King Arthur with his round table. They include also the principal contemporaneous events, as the establishment of Christianity, &c. The two last books contain the history of Little Britain under its Dukes, till it was completely merged in the crown of France. This part comprehends many historical facts worthy of observation, related in a style singularly quaint and naif, including a considerable portion of the general history of the adjacent countries. It is brought down to the year 1539, the twenty-fourth of the reign of Francis I.

ART. CCLXVII. A notable Historye of the Saracens, briefly and faithfully descrybing the originall beginning, continuaunce and successe aswell of the Saracens, as also of Turkes, Souldans, Mamalukes, Assassines, Tartarians and Sophians, with a discourse of their affaires and actes from the byrthe of Mahomet their first peeuish prophet and founder for 700 yeeres space; whereunto is annexed a compendious Chronycle of all their yeerly exploytes from the sayde Mahomet's time tyll this present yeere of grace 1575. Drawen out of Augustine Curie, and sundry other good Authours by Thomas Imprinted at London by William How, for Abraham Veale, 1575. Colophon. Imprinted at London by William How for Abraham Veale dwelling in Paules Churchyard, at the signe of the Lambe. 1575. 4to. Fo. 144, without preface, &c.

This compiled translation is the performance of Thomas Newton the poet, and dedicated "to the Ryghte Honorable the Lorde Charles Howarde, Baron of Effyngham, and Knight of the most noble Order of the Garter," with a lion rampant in a circle of the garter, back of the title. "The author's preface" describes "this whole historye breeflye comprysinge the whole discourse of their raignes and conquestes, collected aswell out of many Greeque, Constantinopolitan and Latine authours, as out of the Chronicles of the Arabians and Moors, is deuided into three Bookes. The firste containeth the natiuitie, education, raigne and continuance of dotynge Mahomet and the beginning of the Saracens, with the successe and increase of their empire even

tyll it was at the highest for two hundreth yeeres space. The seconde is contynued from the fyrst inclynation tyll the beginning of the destruction and last ende thereof, contayninge also the space of two hundreth yeeres. The third breefly comprehendeth the final end of it, and the original beginning of the Turkishe empire, (which succeeded the Saracenical domination) till Othoman, the first Emperour of Turks, which intreateth of their acts, for the space of three hundreth yeeres."

The following extract from the second book is of a period the most productive for the fables of romance and displaying feats of chivalry. It is a brief account of the battle of Roncevalles.

"When he [Charles] was returned home agayne into Fraunce, some write that there came out of Aphrica, one Aigoland, sent from the high Duke of the Aphrican Saracens, (who kept his seat royall at Marrocco) with a mighty army to recover all such townes and places as Charles had taken in Spaine; with whom there were many other princes, potentats, and valvaunt personages; and that Charles (after many combates, darraigned and foughten with hym hand to hand beinge thereunto by hym chalenged and prouoked), fought a bloudy battayle with him at Baion, a citie of Vasconia, wherein were slayne 400000 Christians, and among them Myles Anglese, father to Rouland, a stout gentleman and a hardy, who had the leadinge and was generall of the whole Notwithstanding, all was regained by the puyssance and prowesse of Charles, and other fresh avd that then came euen in the nicke out of Italy to succour the Frenchman in that distresse. Insomuch. that Ægoland priuyly fled and conueighed himselfe away.

"But not long after, havinge repaired his army with a supply of moe souldiours, Ægoland againe prouoked Charles into Vasconia, and besieged the citie Gennum, now called Baion, the space of seuen monthes, and departing thence was in the borders of Xantongue in a cruell battel ouerthrowen, after which discomfiture he fled back againe into Spaine. And how that Charles (because he would at length bring his Spanish warres to an end) with a greater army than any afore, entred into Spaine, where after many light skirmishes, he slew Ægolad in a notable battell; after which victorie he brought under his subjection and rule almost all Spaine; with many moe forged reportes and mere fables of some advoutched. all which, for the vntruth and vnlykelyhood thereof we do heere pretermit; but if any be desirous to see them, let them reade Turpine bysshoppe of Rheimes, to whom also I do referre you, for the trueth of this, which we have here last recited; for we do not fynde in any of those credible and approued writers whych wee followe, that Charles made any moe voyages against the Saracens into Spaine but one, nor that they euer entred into Fraunce during his raigne. But this is manifest, that Alphonsus kyng of Asturia, mooned with the famous renowne of his noble actes and inuincible valiaunce, and for the common weale of his kingdome and subjectes, because he had no children of his owne, and saw that the power of that onely region was farre vnhable to beare out and maintaine continuall warres with the Saracens, offered vnto him secretely

by trustie messengers and ambassadoures the kingdome of Lyons so that he would ayde hym against the king of Corduba, with whom he had then waged warre. Charles accepting this offer and condition, Which composition when the sent ayde vnto hym. nobles and peeres of the realme of Lyon vnderstoode, they were soore displeased and tooke the matter greuously, spighting (as commonly in like cases it falleth out) to haue a nation hard vnder theyr noses to bee rulers ouer them, and therexpon they compelled theyr king to starte from his bargaine and vndoe his league. And not so contented to leave, purposed also and deuised which way to dispatch and destroye king Charles and all his army; fearing, lest he seeing himselfe thus deluded and mocked would reuenge this iniurie done vnto him. Therefore gathering and assembling all the power of the Asturians and Cantabrians together, and sendying also for ayde to the Saracenes (in secrete wise preuenting Charles) tooke and kept the narow streightes of the mountaines, where the passage and way lyeth into Spaine by Ronceuall. For Charles was retourned into Fraunce, and was now againe in his way going into Spaine, to revenge this wrongfull dealing. The armie of King Charles was the at the foote of the Pyrenee mountaines, on that side next Fraunce, in the valley (yet called Hospita) when there came newes vnto them, that the Spaniardes were comming, in warlike manner against him along by the valley called at this day Charles Valley, which was a faire plaine Therefore dividing his hoast into three charpaine. battailes, by the fraudulent and traiterous cou saile of Galero (or as some cal him Gane) who the enemies

had corrupted with money, he appointed Rouland. his nephew, by his sister, (commonly called of the vulgar sort Orland) Duke of Little Britaine, a valiaunt gentlema and a hardy, to leade the vanwarde, wherein he placed al the noble states and peeres of Fraunce: in the second battaile, he placed innumerable gentleme and noble personages: and he himself with the third (wherin was the traitour Galero taried stil in the campe, commaunding Orland with the vauntgard to aduaunce himself forward. The Spanish army was embattailed in Ronceuall, expecting their coming; vpon whom the fronte of the French hoast geuing the onset was at the first brunt so handled (for the Spanyardes had gotte the vpper grou'd and al the strait passages) that they were in worse case which escaped their hands, the they which were slain outright in fighting: for they dyed and were quickly out of pain, but the other fleeing through thicke and thinne among the stones and craggy cliues and falling down fro high rockes, had their limmes broke, and so continued for a loger seaso in extreme tormente and agonies. Thus, Rouland and all his traine being wearied, what with climing vp the hill, and what with the waight of their armour were easily killed and brought to confusio. After the same maner also was the second battaile ha dled, wherein were the 12 péeres of Frauce, in whose power it is to create the king and decide al waightie causes of the realme.

"Charles still abode in the valleye, which for this cause is to this day called Charles' Valley, whyther he had removed his campe out of Hospita; who,

vnderstandinge of the great ouerthrow and losse of his men, retyred with all speede againe into Fraunce."

J. K.

ART. CCLXVIII. Letters sent from Venice, Anno 1571, containing the certaine and true newes of the most noble victorie of the Christians over the armie of the great Turke: and the names of the Lordes and Gentlemen of the Christians slaine in the same battell. Translated oute of the Frenche Copic printed at Paris, by Guillem de Niuerd, with the King's priviledge. Imprinted at London by Henrie Bynneman. And are to be sold in Paules Churchyard by Anthonie Kitson. n. d. 5 leaves. 12mo. b. l.

ART. CCLXIX. The whole discourse of the Victorie that it pleased God to give to the Christians against the Turkes, and what losse hapened to the Christians in the said conflict. Englished by a Frenche Copie printed at Paris, by Fleuri Prevost, priviledged by the King. Imprinted at London by Henrie Bynneman. And are to be sold in Paules Churchyard by Anthonie Kitson. n. d. 5 leaves. 12mo. b.l.*

THESE little tracts appear to have been intended to convey authentic information to the public of the

* Neither of these articles are noticed in Herbert. On the last page of the second is the device, in an oval, of the Genius of England, as described by that editor, p. 780; but with outer or corner ornaments forming a square; warlike trophies being at the bottom, and at the top two female figures, each holding a palm branch in the one hand, and supporting a trumpet with the other, which they blow inward,

victory obtained by a fleet of gallies belonging to the Pope, the Knights of Malta, and the Venetians, or, (as they are united, called) the Christians over the Turks, on Sunday the 7th Oct. 1571, near "the gulphes of Velapante."

As usual the loss of the conquerors was more than doubly exceeded by the loss of the conquered.

- "Of all the armie of, the Turkes, there was none saved but xviij galeys, whiche were followed a great whyle by three galeys of the popes, four of the knyghtes of Malta, and sixe of the Venetians, and they came so neere them, that if the darknesse of the nyght had not favoured them with the helpe of their good ores, they had not gone to carie the heavie newes of the overthrow of the rest of their armie.
- "There is taken by the Christians cxxx greate Turkishe galeys and fyftie foystes, out of whiche galleys and foystes have bene delivered xiiij thousande Christians captives with the Turks.
- "In the sayde galeys and foysts was founde great store of munitions of war, the moste parte whereof was delivered to be sente to Malta.
- "There were also we galeys of the Turkes drowned.
 - " And there were xxv galeys burnt.
- "And there were xx thousand Turks slayne wyth their Bassa,* whiche was the generall of their armie. Besides fyve thousande prisoners.
- * When the Turkish Commander was killed, his head was carried to Seigneur Don Jean de Austriche, (who commanded the Christians): "after he had a good while helde the same in his handes, he commanded it to bee put upon the ende of a pyke, and to be sette uppon the foreparte of the galey for victorie, and for a tryumphe."

- "The losse that the Christians had was two galeyes of the Popes whiche were drowned.
 - "And one burned of the Knightes of Malta.
- "Five of the Venetians were loste, of the which two were burnt and three drouned.
- "The generall of the armie of the Venetians (the moste excellent Lorde, S. Augustine Barbarico) was slayne in the saide galeys that were lost, and xx Venetian gentlemen.
- "There is deade of the Christians as wel out of the said eight galeys that were lost, as of them that were slayne in the other galeys, aboute two thousande men, of the which there was four Knightes of Malta, three Spaniardes, and one Italian.
- "The Venetians, amongs all the rest, did shewe themselves very valyante, and they were the first that with great furie did joyne in combate agaynst the sayde Turkes."

At the conclusion is a short address " to the Christian Reader," the greater portion of which is too applicable to this country, at the present period, to be omitted.

"Considering the times past and present, in the which God, all mercifull, hathe delivered and preserved us from a number of mischeeves and daungers, with the which we ordinarily are beset, without having any power of oure selfe, to escape the same, except the immeasurable pitie of oure Lord God shoulde helpe us: We ought, therefore, to sing continually with the royall prophet, the earthe is all replenished with the mercie of our good God, which dothe maintaine us in his kingdom, in his faith, in

his service, and in his grace incomprehensible; and let us firmely believe that he hathe care of us, and that he dothe keepe and defend us more warely than the egle or the henne doo their chickens. Let us give him, therefore, without ceasing, glorie, and praises everlasting; framing our selves to marvel at the greatnesse of his mercie, that doth preserve us alwayes from eminent dangers and perilles."

J. H.

ART. CCLXX. A Letter sent by I. B. Gentleman unto his very frende Maystet [r] R. C. Esquire. Wherin is conteined a large discourse of the peopling and inhabiting the Cuntrie called the Ardes, and other adiacent in the North of Ireland, and taken in hand by Sir Thomas Smith, one of the Queenes Maiesties Privie Counsel, and Thomas Smith, Esquire, his sonne. Colophon. Imprinted at London, by Henry Binneman, for Anthon [y Kit] son, dwelling in Paules Church Yard, at the signe of the Sunne. 31 leaves, folded in fours. Small 8vo. b. l. 1572.

This historical tract needs little introduction; the subject is interesting and popular, and appears to have escaped the attention of our early historians. It was evidently written in support of a scheme intended, but never carried into effect, and the doubts and objections were created to give the writer an opportunity of arguing in support of the feasibleness of the plan.

"Suche doubtes and exceptions, frende R. C. as I have heard alleged and put forthe to unhable that enterprise of peopling and replenishing with the Englishe nation the North of Ireland, which, with the assistance of Sir Thomas Smith, one of her Majestie's Counsell, Mayster Thomas Smith, his sonne, hath undertook to bring to passe, maketh mee that I can not holde from you my so singuler freende those arguments, wherwith through conference had with him upon his sayde attempt by reason of our great familiaritie, hee hath fully persuaded and satisfied me.

"Ireland is a large cuntrie, commended wonderfully for the fertilenesse and commodious site therof. wherin the Kings of England have had footing and continuall government these foure hundred yeeres and more: but so as the barbarous nation at no time fully subdued, throgh their often rebellion, have bene rather an anoy and charge to this realme of England, than otherwise, which some men have imputed to the impossibilitie therof, or to the evil government of deputies, which eyther have bene neglygent or corrupt. But Maister Smith, to see and knowe the truthe, travayled thither in the companie of Sir Willian Fitzwilliams, now Lord Justice there, minding after serche heerof made (for now beganne the desire of this attempt to root in his hart) to declare his opinion, if hee thought it myght be accepted, and hath founde that the decay of the government there hath not chaunced, bicause that the planting at the firste of the Englishe nation (so muche as it was) was not for the time substancially done, nor by the negligence and corruptnesse of the governours there, wherof within our remembraunce hath been a successive order of noble, just, wise, and sufficient

persons; but hath growne by the necessitie whiche hath constrayned the governours to give protections and pardons unto moste heynous rebels and outlawes. after they have spoyled, murthred, and made havocke of the good subjects, for lack of sufficient forces wherwith to attache and execute the savde malefactours, by reason of the spare supplye at all times made to them by the Prince, who at the firste inhabyting thereof mynding more the kyngdome of Fraunce, and thinking all to little for that purposed conquest, neglected Ireland as a matter of smal importance, then worst looked to, when England itselfe was a prise or rewarde to them that best could besturre themselves of the houses of Yorke and Lancaster; and if you wil marke the stories, you shal finde great reasons that have moved the Prince too bee spare of charges in that cuntrie, and a consequence of decay in that government.

"About the time of the first entrie of the Englishe in Ireland made that they began to settle, arose the Barons warres in England, that weakened and decayed all at home; Fraunce was chargeable too bee mainteyned with many garrisons, a great waster both of men and money, yet a thing whereto the Princes were more bent than to Ireland: so that we may easly perceive and judge, that the Irishe whiche yet remayned unsubdued, taking advantage of the time, whiles the cheef that had authoritie there, were called over to upholde their factions here, possessed againe their land, and expelled the new inhabitants; found without hed and scarce yet wel setled; whiche could not be recovered againe so soone, bicause suche

as were come over after they had wasted themlsvees in civil warres, and had in the meane time lost their landes in Ireland, lost also their credite with such as at the first adventured under them, by reason they had forsaken and lefte them open to the spoile; nor the Princes, being eaten out also with civile discord and with the charges of Fraunce, unto which they were more addicted, had the treasure to spare for the reformation thereof. Only King Richard the Second in hys owne person attemptyng the same, was overtaken with civil discension and deposed, whiche hath ever since discouraged his successours personally to attempt the like. Thus home warres still increasing, with the armies in Fraunce, (a devouring grave of this nation) and, lastly, the losse therof, so weakned and impoverisshed the crown of England, that both people and money wanted therein, much good land lying waste for lacke of inhabitaunts, that it was more time to recover by rest that which was wanting at home, than to send abrode that could not be spared. And the Princes contented themselves if they myght onely preserve a footyng or entrye into Ireland wyth some small charge, wherby the governours were constreyned, for wante of supply, by protections and pardons to appease every rebellion, which otherwise to represse and punish they were not sufficiently furnished. This perceived of the Irishe, made them that upon every light occasion they will flie out, and satisfied with bloud and burning, will not without protection and pardon be brought in. The Englishe race overrunne and daily spoiled, seeing no punishment of malefactors, did buy their owne peace, alied and

fostred themselves with the Irishe, and the race so nourished in the bosome of the Irishe, perceiving their immunitie from lawe and punishmente degenerated; choosing rather to maintain themselves in the Irish mans beastly libertie, than to submit themselves and to live there alone, and not the Irish in the godly awe of the lawes of England. This degenerating and daily decay of the English manners by little and little in the countrey, discourageth those that have not perfectly wayed all that is aforesaid, to attempt any new enterprise. The Prince seeing no manne forwarde therin, is weryed with the continuaunce of the yerely great charge which hir Maiestie liberall above hir predecessoures hath borne more willingly, and to this, the first entring of the English, their first inhabiting, the order and manner therof, is almost worne out of memorie and forgotten, their decay and wasting daily to be seene.

"All these things when my friend, being then in Ireland, had informed him selfe of, by diligent inquisition, he fell to consider what way were fittest for oure time to reform the same; and if it were reformed, I meane the whole countrey replenished with Englishe men, what profite that coulde be to the estate of Englande, hath sithens his return told me divers times, that he thought Irelande once inhabited with Englishe men, and polliced with English lawes, would be as great commoditie to the Prince as the realme of England, the yerely rent and charges saved that is now laide out to maintaine a garrison therein, for there cannot be (sayeth he) a more fertile soile thorowe out the world for that

climate than it is, as a more pleasant, healthful, ful of springs, rivers, great fresh lakes, fishe, and foule, and of most commodious herbers. England giveth nothing save fine woolle, that will not be had also moste abudantly there; it lacketh only inhabitants, manurance and pollicie.

"As for the meanes how to subdue and replenish the same (sayth he) they were easie to be devised, if the Queene's Majestie wold once take it upon hir, with army maintained at hir charges: but sith her Highnesse is not bent thereto, what other meanes is to be followed, he hath heeretofore in his first offer to the Queene's Majestie's counsell declared; which is that which he nowe followeth, and so many that have not in themselves the will or grace to do so well, do impugne, whiche I will heere defende and persuade you in as a thing moste reasonable, faisable, and commendable.

"He hathe taken in hande, withoute hir Majestie's pay, to win and replenish with Englishe inhabitantes the countrey called the Ardes in the northe of Irelande, and some partes thereto adjoyning.

"The first entry with the Englishemen made into Irelande, was in Henrie the Seconde's time, with his licence, by Strangbowe, Earl of Chepstow, at his own charges, and the charges of his adherentes, at what time the countrey was replenished with inhabitants, and devided only into five kingdomes; who with a smal number entred into the same, and subdued the kingdom which is nowe called Lenster, which he possessed and held quietly, planting it with Englyshe inhabytants, and placing English lawes, until the King envying his proceedings, and fearing

to have so great a subject, enforced him to surrender his right, whiche hee did. And this was the first foting of Englishe men in that land, not by the King's power.

"Muche more then that whiche Strangbowe wonne, remayneth not at this day civile in Irelande, but many parcels have bene wonne by the English men therin, without the King's forces, whiche eyther by the occasions afore rehersed wer lost, or els for lack of inward pollicy degenerated, as great cuntries in Munster, by the Gerardines and Butlers. In Connalt, by the Burges. In Meth, by Nogent. In Ulster, sometimes by Lacy Earle of Lincolne; after him by Mortimer; yea a great part of the Arde was and is possessed by the Savages, in whose offspring, which at this time holde it, save the name remayneth nothing English, with divers other parcelles which for shortnesse sake, I let passe.

"The Arde which is my demaund, and the nearest part of all Irelande to Lancashire, and the east part of England, I take to be a peece of ground as easie to be wonne, inhabited, safely kepte and defended, as any platte within the realme of Ireland, being a reache of land (as it were of purpose bayed out from the mayne into the sea,) to wall in so muche of it as would make so faire and commodious a lake and herber, as the haven of Strangford is fasshioned like an arme bente in the elbowe, annexed no where to the mayne but at the one ende as the arme to the shoulder."

"England was neuer that can be heard of, fuller of people than it is at this day, and the dissolution of abbayes hath done two things of importance

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heerin: it hath doubled the number of gentlemen and mariages, whereby commeth daily more increase of people; and suche yonger brothers as were wonte to be thruste into abbayes, there to liue (an idle life,) sith that is taken from them, must now seeke some other place to liue in; by thys meanes there are many lacke abode, and fewe dwellings emptie.

"With that our lawe, which giueth all to the elder brother, furthereth much my purpose; and the excessive expence, bothe in diet and apparell, maketh that men, which have but small portions, can not maintaine themselves in the emulation of this world, with like countenance as the grounded riche can do; thus stand we at home."—

"They shal have their peculiar portions in that frutefull soile, being but as a bodie to be deuided amongs them. And this shall be the quantitie which a foote man shall have, videlicet, a plowe lande, which containeth a C and xx acres Irishe, but you will understande it better by English measure. A plowland shall containe CC and lv acres of earable grounde. Then can there not lie in any country almost, (especially so full of bottomes as that soile is) so much earable lande together, but there will lie

^{*} The writer afterwards observes that younger brothers will "rather saue than lose, for with lesse expeces, if he haue no horse in England, can he not liue for his dyet, than ten pound; if he bee a horseman, his horse and hee vnder twentie pound, yet liue he must whither he spend the time in England or Ireland, and this I am sure of, that whatsoeuer hee maye saue of his dyet in a yeer heere in England by lying in his freends house, he shal specif in apparaile: for that cuntrie of Ireland requireth rather lasting and warm clothes than gorgeous and deere garments."

also entermingled therewith sloppes, slips, and bottomes fitte for pasture and meading and commodious to be annexed to the same plowlande, so that the whole may amount to CCC acres in the leaste. I pray you tell me, if you had so much good grounde in Essex, would you not take it for a pretie farme, and yet a horsse man shall have double, videlicet sixe C. acres of ground one with an other at the least, wherof there is v. CCCCCx. acres earable, the rest medow and pasture, I believe you would call that in Essex a good manor, and yet these are the least devisions."—

"There is no doubt but ther will great numbers of the husbandmen, which they call churles, come and offer to liue vnder vs, and to ferme our grounds: both such as are of the cuntry birth, and others, bothe out of the wilde Irishe and the Englyshe pale. For the churle of Ireland is a very simple and toylesome man, desiring nothing but that he may not be eaten out with cease, coyne, nor liuerie.

"Coyne and liuerie is this; there will come a Kerne or Galliglas, whiche be the Irishe Souldiours, to lie in the Churles house; whiles he is there hee wil be maister of the house, hee will not onely haue meate, but money also allowed him, and at his departure the beste things he shall see in the Churles house, be it linne cloth, a shirte, mantil, or such like. Thus is the Churle eaten vp, so that if dearth fall in the cuntry where he dwelleth, he should be the first starued, not beeing maister of his owne."

The principal arguments adduced by the writer to support the feasibility of the plan of peopling the Ardes are given in the above extracts. To the work

is annexed the plan of Sir Thomas Smyth and his son, as authorised by Queen Elizabeth, which was also printed on a broadside, for general distribution, in 1572, as follows:

"The offer and order given forthe by Sir Thomas Smyth, Knt. and Thomas Smyth his sonne, vnto suche as be willing to accompanie the sayd Thomas Smyth the sonne in his voyage for inhabiting some partes of the north of Irelande.

"The Queenes Maiesties graunt made to Sir Thomas Smith Knighte, and Thomas Smyth his sonne, in Ireland, is all that is hir Maiesties by enheritace, or other right in the countrey called the Ardes, and part of other countreys adiacent in the Erledom of VLSTER, so that they ca possesse and replenishe them with Englishe men. The which thing, that it mighte the more surely be done, the said Sir Thomas and Thomas his sonne haue bounden themselves to hir Highnesse to distribute all the said land within the said countreys, which they shal be able to obtaine and possesse, to suche as shall take paines to helpe the to possesse the same, to haue and holde to them and to their heires for euer.

"That is to say, to eche ma who wil serue as a soldier on foote, one plowland containing a hundreth and twentie acres Irishe of earable lande, for which the said Sir Thomas and Thomas must pay to the Quenes Maiesty two pence Irish for an Irish acre, after four and twentie foote to the pole. In consideration of which rent bi the to be paid vnto her Maiestie, the souldier shall paye for the saide plowlande vnto Syr Thomas Smyth and Thomas, and their heires, one penie sterling for euery Englishe acre of

the said plowland, after the measure of sixtene fote and an halfe to the pole, and no more. The first paiment to begin foure yeres hence, videlicet, 1576.

"To eche man who will serue on horsebacke two plowlads, videlicet two hundreth and fortie acres Irishe, which is at the leaste five hundreth acres and more English, paying for every acre English as the footeman dothe.

"And the earable lande being deuided, ech foote man and horseman shall have also allotted vnto him pasture, medowe, and suche like necessary, as the cuntry wil serue, as reasonably as they have arable grounde so that they may therewith be contented.

"The charges that is required of a footeman at his first settyng forth, if he be furnished of sufficient armour, for a pike, halberd or caliuer, with a conuenient livery cloke of red colour, or carnation with black facing, is tenne pounds for his vitayling for one whole yeere after his arrival and his transportation: after whiche yeere, there is hope to finde provisy inough in the cuntrie, which they shall obteine with good guidance.

"The charges of a horsema" wel horsed and armed for a light horseman wyth a staffe, and a case of dagges, is twentie poundes for vittayle of him and his horse for one whole yeere, and for his tra sportation. His livery had neede be af the colour aforesayd, and of the fashyon of the ryding Dutche clokes now yeed.

"And to anoyde the flixe and suche dangerous diseases as doth many times chaunce to souldiours by reason of lying vpon the grou'd and vncouered, and lykewyse to horses for lacke of hales: if any souldiour footman wil giue before hand ten shillings, and the horseman twentye shyllings they shal be lodged under ca'uas and vppon beddes, vntill houses may be prouided.

"And if any will beare the charges of a souldyour, that cannot go himselfe, nor sende another in his roume, he shall have his part of land allotted to him as wel as though he went himself: but then for a footman he must pay in ready money xvj pound. xiij. s. iiijd. This is one parte. And if any wil have two parts or more, then according to this rate to paye the money. The coronell to finde the sayd footman or men in al points for the first yere, according as the money is received.

"And to the intente that no man willing to aduenture in this most honorable and profitable voyage may doubt hereof, if it please him to resorte to *——there he shall see both the letters patents and the indentures of couenanntes betwixt the Queenes Maiestie and the sayd Sir Thomas Smith and Thomas Smith, and pay suche money as he is disposed to aduenture, and receyue his assuraunce from Thomas Smith the sonne, who taketh the aduenture and voyage vppon him to go in person, or if the sayde Thomas bee not there, one of the receyuers of this voyage remayning there, shall do herein as apperteyneth, whom he hath made his deputie in this behalfe.

" Note that all suche kindes of prouision as bee

^{*} From this histus it appears to have been printed previous to the letters patent being obtained.

necessary in this iourney, the Treasourer may receive in lieu of money, according as he shal have neede of such provision, be already furnished there with, and according to the place where the sayd provision shal lie, for the commodious transportation thereof.

I God saue the Queene."

As an interesting conclusion to this article, is added the following account of the establishment made in Ireland, a few years after the above period, by the city of London. The transcript appears to have been made several years since, and came to my possession, within these few days, with other manuscripts, belonging to a literary gentleman deceased.

" Irish Society.

"In the reign of Queen Elizabeth, the province of Ulster, in the north of Ireland, had been greatly depopulated by the suppression of several insurrections, and, in particular, the city of Derry and town of Colrain were quite ruined.

"To prevent such insurrections for the future, it was thought proper to repeople that part of the country with protestant families; and soon after the accession of James the First to the throne, that Prince, considering this as an affair worthy of his attention, signified his pleasure to some of the Aldermen and Commoners, by means of several of his Privy Council, upon which a Court of Common Council was called; and a deputation sent over to view the place of the intended plantation. These deputies being returned, it was agreed in Dec. 1609,

that 15000l. should be expended on the plantation, and 5000l. in the purchase of private interests.

"Soon after articles of agreement were entered into between the Lords of the Privy Council, and a Committee chosen by the Lord Mayor and Commonalty of the city, and it was agreed for the better managing of the plantation, there should be a company constituted in London, to consist of a Governor, and twenty-four Assistants, to direct what ought to be done on the part of the city, relating to the plantation; and in pursuance of this agreement, the King by his letters patent, changed the name of Derry to that of Londonderry, and incorporated the Committee nominated by the city, by the name of The Society of the Governor and Assistants in London of the new Plantation in Ulster within the realm of Ireland, directing that it should consist of a Governor, Deputy Governor, and twenty-four Assistants: whereof the Governor and five of the Assistants were to be Aldermen, the Recorder for the time being to be an Assistant, and the Deputy Governor, with the rest of the Assistants, to be Commoners. By this charter, the King also granted to the Society, and their successors, the city, fort, and town of Londonderry, the whole island of Derry, and all the castles, towns, villages and lands, in the county of Londonderry, particularly mentioned in the charter.

"The Society now immediately set about rebuilding Londonderry and Colerain, and improving and planting the other parts of the county. And, in order to reimburse the twelve principal companies and other inferior companies that had contributed to the expense of the plantation, the Society divided the whole county of Londonderry into thirteen parts; the first, consisting of the city of Londonderry and town of Colerain, with some of the adjoining lands, and the fisheries, was retained by the Society in their own possession, to defray the charge of the general work of the plantation, and the surplus was from time to time divided among the twelve Companies by the Society.

"The rest of the county being divided into twelve parts, as equal in value as possible, the twelve Companies drew lots for them, and each Company had the part which fell to its share. The Society then erected each lot into a manor, and obtained a charter of the Crown to convey to each of the Companies the lands fallen to it, to hold the same in perpetuity.

"King Charles the First, however, ordered his Attorney General to prosecute the Society in the Star-chamber, under the pretence that the charter had been surreptitiously obtained; upon which it was cancelled by a decree of that court, and the lands seized into the King's hands: but the Society were reinstated in their possessions by Oliver Cromwell, who granted the city a new charter; and Charles the Second incorporated the Society anew, and the Companies have enjoyed their possessions ever since."

ART. CCLXXI. A lamentable, and pitifull description, of the wofull warres in Flaunders, since the foure last yeares of the Emperor Charles the Lifth his raigne. With a briefe rehearsall of many things

done since that season, ontill this present yeare, and death of Don John. Written by Thomas Church-yarde, Gentleman. Imprinted at London by Ralph Nevvberie. Anno 1578. 4to. 42 leaves.

THE Epistle Dedicatory is addressed to Sir. Frauncis Walsingham, Knight, wherein the author says, " had I beautified my boke, with the depe iudgeme'ts of my betters, and filled the empty places & seteces voyd of learning, with some borowed tearmes & fine tra slatio s, as wisely and lernedlie some haue done, my ignora ce and boldnesse heerein so soone had not bin espyed, and I might have found more pillers and proppes to haue sustevned vp from falling a long season, my weake and feeble workemanship, and tottering building: but wanting that provision and foresight, and bringing fro the printer my booke, I make myselfe and my credite subjecte to the worldes reporte, and must desire your honorable countenance to the furthering of my good name. and liking of my worke. And for that of late you were Embassadour in Flaunders, and haue bin long acquainted with the causes of that countrey, I have dedicated my paynes heerin to your hands and protection, minding, if this be well accepted, (as I doubt not but it shall be,) to set forth another worke, called, the calamitie of Fraunce, the bloudy broyles of Germany, the persecution of Spayne, the misfortune of Portingall, the troubles of Scotlande, the miserie of Irelande, and the blessed state of England."

Introductory to the work is a long poem of near eight pages, which commences;

"Flaunders bewayles with bitter sorrow the source affliction of hir state and countrey.

"The vvife, that hath hir husband lost, alone may sit and vvaile,

VVhose tears fast trickle dovvne hir cheekes, as thicke as showeres of hayle.

The friend that farre is from his feere, and vvants a faithfull mate.

By vieve of foe, and fraude of evorld, laments his losse to late.

The lab'ring man, that sees his land lye waste for wante of plowe,

And cannot vvell supply his lack, is fraught with sorrow throw.

The sadde and heavie minded vvight, (of iov that takes no holde)

As mirth forsakes the striken breast, hath hart full deade and colde.

The merchaunt vvhom the pyrate spoyles, and in vvide vvorld is laft.

May blame the vviles of vvicked heades, And curse their cupping crafte.

The Captaine which no souldiers hath, who lost his force by fight,

Doth folde his armes and verings his handes, he sorroves day and night.

But none of those compares with me, that left am as you know,

In friendlesse sort with many babes, like vvidovve full of vvoe:

That each man verongs and feve do help, and in mine aged dayes,

And made a pray to people straunge, that plagues me many vvayes.

I flourisht once in pompe and pride. beyonde my neyghbours all, But vvhen apace came in the tide, novv floud beginnes to fall: And at lovve vvater marke I stand. that earst haue floated stil: My hauen mouth is chokt with sand, my loades men lacke the skil, To passe the strayghtes, and safely bring my barcke to quiet port. Novy vvaste and empty lie the tovynes vvherein vvas greate resort. And vohere my merchauntes trafficke kept, novv men of vvarre do flocke, And where the gates wide open stoode. with barres and double locke. Novv are they shutte and rammed fast, and bulyvarkes still vve make. And ore the vvalles the cannon rores. vyhereat our houses shake."

Churchyard's narrative must be considered valuable from its embodying historical facts relative to transactions in which he was personally concerned. Of the English who sought glory in the Flemish wars, there are repeated notices, and an enumeration of the principal leaders. "Before Pyrsen, was Sir William Drurie shotte through the bridle hande by a Frenchma, yt. offered to breake a lance vpo him, who threwe downe his staffe when hee shulde haue putte it in the rest, and so discharged hys dagge at Sir William Drurie, whych was accompted the parte of a cowarde." To this anecdote may be added, as a specimen of the author's prose, a short relation

respecting the town of Harlam. "Being a place of strength, somewhat by nature thorow the mean of water (& other causes a fortresse requireth) was manned & furnished with most assured souldiers. And as the Duke had greate adoe in many other places, and made great armies to besiege them, so at the siege of this ve. Duke loste such a number of me. as is incredible to be spoke, & would hardly be beleeved: for women there were of such courage, as was wonderful to beholde: and one woman tooke a miraculous charge voon hir, which was, to have the leading of men (a matter to be smiled at, but yet of troth, and to be credited.) Then if women were so stoute, what mighte men of noble hart & mind proue? forsooth their actes and deedes did shew the to be in courage more than lions, & in worth & valour more than a C. M. of the ordinarie sorte of people. For some haue been in many seruices, that neuer saw yo. like of Harlem souldiers: & men may trauel to the very confines of Christendome, & not find such people, as were at Harlem (besieged by the Spaniardes, a nation in these days, that can both besiege a town, & can do much in the field,) whiche people had such resolute minds & willing bodies to defend & suffer whatsoever might happen, y'. they seemed to be made & formed, not out of our common mould, but wrought and created of some speciall substance and workmanship, wherein ve. glorie of manhood and valiancie was cuningly coprehended. O that my stile were so stately (& could carry such life) that I might worthilv expresse the noblenes of their courages. But I may not praise the alone for their corage, but exalt the also for

their policies, and sufferace of al misery & adueraities a long seaso, and in a maner past y. power of man's weak nature and conditio. But alas, y. while, they were ouertake w. too much truste in their enimies words, & led at length like sheepe to y. slaughter; but how I liste not tell you, referring y. iudgment of such like actions, to those that haue y. managing of mighty matters, & knows how to coquere & gouerne. Well, to finishe and knitte vppe the scanning and seruices of the famous souldioures of Harlem, to the furthest of my abilitie, I will honour the bones of all suche warlike people, wheresoeuer I shal finde them, and with perpetuall fame aduance theyr bodyes to the lofty skies."

At the end "Finis q. Thomas Churchyard;" then sixty-eight lines, commencing,

" To the Worlde.

"Go sillie booke to suttle worlde,
And shew thy simple face,
And forward passe, and do not turne
agayne to my disgrace.
For thou shalt bring to people's eares
but troth that needes not blush,
And though Maell Bouch give thee rebuke,
care not for that a rush,
For euill tongs do ytch so sore,
they must be rubbing still
Against the teeth, that should hold fast
the clapper of the mill."

J.H.

ART. CCLXXII. A Tragicall Historie of the troubles and Civile Warres of the Lowe Countries,

otherwise called Flanders. Wherein is sett forthe the originall and full proceedyng of the saied troubles, and civile warres, with all the stratagemes, sieges, forceble takynges, and manlike defenses, of divers and sondrie cities, tounes, and fortresses of the same, together with the barbarous crueltie and tyrannie of the Spaniard, and trecherous Hispaniolized Wallons, and others of the saied Lowe Countries. And there withall, the estate and cause of Religion, especially from the yere 1559, unto Besides many letters, commissions, the yere 1581. contractes of peace, unions, articles and agrementes, published and proclaimed in the saied Provinces. Translated out of Frenche into Englishe, by T. S. Gent. Imprinted at London by Jhon Kyngston for Tobie Smith, dwelling in Paules Churchyarde, at the signe of the Crane. 4to. ff. 211. besides Dedication and Epistle.

The dedication of this translation to Robert Dudley, Earl of Leicester, is signed "Thomas Stocker, London, 15 March, 1583." Stocker appears by many various titles in Herbert's Typography to have been a voluminous translator, principally of divinity; and though omitted in the index, this work is recorded by him in p. 841. It is mentioned also by Tanner, who misdates it 1585, and who says Stocker was sprung from a gentilitial family; and names another translation of his, mentioned also by Herbert, entitled "A right noble and pleasant History of the Successors of Alexander sirnamed the Great, taken out of Diodorus Siculus: and some of their lives written by the wise Plutarch:

translated out of the French into English by Thomas Stocker." Printed by H. Troy for H. Binneman. Licenced, 1568. 4to. The original of this is dedicated "To the high, noble, honourable, and wise Lordes, my Lordes of the Estates, the Deputies, Presidentes, and Counselles, Burrough maisters, Scoutes or Marshalles Maiors, Bailiefes, and to al other officers and ministers of the Provinces whatsoever, united to the Lowe Countreis: your most humble and obedient vassal and subject Theophile, wissheth grace, peace, and love from God through Jesus Christ his only beloved Sonne our Lord." Signed "Theophile. D. L."

The work is divided into four books.

- I. "The first booke: conteying the very original and chiefe beginning of all those troubles, and cruell warres, which sithens have ensued."
- II. "The seconde booke: in the beginning whereof shall be described and set forth, the Inquisition of Spaine, and the execution thereof: and next after, howe the banished Princes, Noblemen, Gentlemen, and others, assailed the Low Countries, both with horsemen and footemen good store, for the recoverie of their enheritances, and goods, from which they were driven away by the tyrannie of the Duke of Alva."
- III. "The thirde booke: wherein shal be set downe the second invasion of the Nobilitie, Gentlemen, and other fugitives, and banished men into the same."
- IV. "The fourth booke: wherein shal bee set foorth the utter Revolte of all the Lowe Countries, and the union of the estates, with Holland and

Zealand, and many other thynges thereon ensuring."

The paging of this fourth book commences anew. *

ART. CCLXXIII. A Conference about the next succession to the Crowne of Ingland, divided into two partes. Whereof the First conteyneth the discourse of a Civill Lawyer, how and in what manner propinquity of blood is to be preferred. And the Second the speech of a Temporall Lawyer, about the particuler titles of all such as do or may pretende within Inglande, or without, to the next succession. Whereunto is also added a new and perfect arbor or genealogie of the discents of all the kinges and princes of Ingland, from the Conquest unto this day, whereby each man's pretence is made more plaine. Directed to the Right Honorable the Earle of Essex, of her Majestie's Privy Councell, and of the most noble order of the Garter. Published by R. Doleman. Imprinted at N. with Licence. 1594. 8vo. The First Part, pp. 220. The Second Part, pp. 267.

This is a singular book, which I believe is scarce, but whether scarce or not, is well worth the attention of inquisitive minds, as it contains very many exceedingly curious historical and genealogical par-

VOL. IV.

^{*}There is "A lamentable and pitifull Description of the Wofull Warres in Flaunders, since the foure last yeares of the Emperor Charles the Fifth his raigne. With a briefe rehearsall of many things done since that season, until this present yeare, and death of Don John. Written by Thomas Churchyarde, Gentleman. Imprinted by Ralph Newbery, anno 1578." 4to. Herbert, II. 906.

The name of Doleman is fictitious, and it is understood to have been the production of the noted jesuit, ROBERT PARSONS—at least in conjunction with Cardinal Allen, and Sir Francis Englefield.* The doctrines contained in the First Part are most grossly seditious and unconstitutional; and it was considered at the time a most heinous publication. though the notion prevalent in Wood's time, that it was enacted, that any person in whose house it should be found, would be deemed guilty of high treason, does not seem to have been true. The doctrine of cashiering kings has been so completely exploded in this country by the wisdom of a sound, enlightened, and loyal people, that its exposition serves only to excite scorn and indignation. And at no time could such weak positions be less dangerous, than at a period when we live under a most virtuous and constitutional monarch, who by his wisdom and unexampled firmness has shewn himself the father of his people, the anxious supporter of their rights, and the defender of their religion and liberties against sophistry, corrupt intrigue, servile submission, and open and daring threats.

But so adapted were the contents of the First part of this book to the purposes of the King-killers in the time of Charles I. that it was reprinted by Robert Ibbotson, living in Smithfield, under this title: Several Speeches made at a Conference, or Several Speeches delivered at a Conference concerning the power of Parliaments to proceed against their King for Mis-government. Lond. 1648, ten sheets, 4to. It is said to have been edited by Walker, an ironmonger, originally a cowherd, and afterwards in

* Herbert, III. 1725.

1649 a presbyterian minister, who wrote The Perfect Occurrences—and to have been printed at the charge of Parliament, who paid thirty pounds for it. What uses were afterwards made of this tract at the time of agitating the Exclusion Bill against James II. &c. &c. may be seen in Wood's Athenæ, I. 359, 360.

The original work was answered by Sir John. Hayward, L.L.D. Anno 1603, under this title; The right of Succession asserted, &c.

" The Contentes of the First Parte.

"The Preface conteyning the occasion of this treatise; with the subject, purpose, and partes thereof.

"That succession to government by neerness of bloode is not by law of nature, or divine; but only by human and positive lawes of every particuler common wealth, and consequently may upon just causes be altered by the same. Cap. i. fol. 1.

"Of the particular forme of monarchies and kingdomes, and the different lawes whereby they are to be obteyned, holden, and governed in divers countries according as ech commonwealth had chosen and established. Cap. ii. fol. 15.

"Of the great reverence and respect dew to kings, and yet how divers of them, have bene lawfully chastised by their commonwealthes for their misgovernment, and of the good and prosperous successe that God commonly hath given to the same, and much more to the putting back of an unworthic pretender. Cap. iii. fol. 37.

"Wherein consisteth principally the lawfulnes of proceeding against Princes, which in the former chapter is mentioned, what interest Princes have in their subject's goodes or lives; how othes do bynde or may be broken by subjects towardes their Princes: and finally the difference between a good King and a Tyrant. Cap. iv. fol. 63.

"Of the coronation of Princes, and manner of their admitting to their authority, and the othes which they do make in the same, unto the commonwealth, for their good government. Cap. v. fol. 82.

"What is dew to only succession by birth, and what interest or right an heyre apparent hath to the Growne, before he is crowned, or admitted by the commonwealth, and how justly he may be put back, if he have not the partes requisite. Cap. vi. fol. 121.

"How the next in succession by propinquity of bloode, have oftentymes bin put aback by the commonwealth, and others further admitted in their places, even in those kingdomes where succession prevaileth, with many examples of the kingdomes of Israel and Spayne. Cap. vii. fol. 140.

"Of divers other examples out of the states of France and Ingland, for proofe that the next in blood are sometymes put back from succession, and how God hath approved the same with good successe. Cap. viii. fol. 164.

"What are the principall points which a commonwealth ought to respect in admitting or excluding any Prince; wherin is handled largely also of the diversitie of religions, and other such causes. Cap. ix. fol. 197."

" The Contents of the Second Booke.

"The Preface with the intention and protestation of the Lawyer to treat this matter without the hurt or prejudice of any.

"Of divers bookes and treatises that have bin in writing heretofore about the titles of such as pretende the crowne of Ingland, and what they do conteyne in favour or disfavour of divers pretendors. Cap. i. fol. 1.

"Of the succession of the Crowne of Ingland from the Conquest unto the tyme of King Edward the Third, with the beginning of three principal linages of the Inglish blood royal, dispersed into the houses of Britanie, Lancaster, and Yorke. Cap. ii. fol. 12.

"Of the succession of Inglish Kings from King Edward the Third unto our dayes, with the particulier causes of dissention betweene the families of Yorke and Lancaster more largely declared. Cap. iii. fol. 37.

"Of the great and general controversic and contention betweene the said two houses royal of Lancaster and Yorke, and which of them may seem to have had the better rights to the Crowne, by way of succession. Cap. iv. fol. 56.

"Offive principal and particular houses or linages, that do or may pretende the Crowne of Ingland at this day, which are the houses of Scotland, of Suffolck, of Clarence, of Britanie, and of Portugal; and first of at the house of Scotland, which conteyneth the pretensions of the King of Scotts, and of the lady Arbella. Cap. v. fol. 107.

- "Of the house of Suffolke, conteyning the claymes aswel of the Countesse of Darby and of her children, as also of the children of the Earle of Hartfort. Cap. vi. fol. 130.
- "Of the houses of Clarence and Britany, which conteyneth the claymes of the Earle of Huntington, and of the Lady Infanta of Spayne, and others of these two families. Cap. vii. fol. 141.
- "Of the house of Portugall, which conteyneth the claymes as well of the King and Prince of Spayne to the succession of Ingland, as also of the Duke of Parma and Braganza by the house of Lancaster. Cap. viii. fol. 160.
- "Whether it be better to be under a forraine or home-borne prince, and whether under a great and mightie Monarch, or under a little Prince or King. Cap. ix. fol. 193.
- "Of certayne other secondary or collateral lines, and how extremely doubtfull al the pretences be, and which of all thease pretenders are most like by probability to prevaile in the end, and to get the crowne of Ingland. Cap. ix. fol. 233."

Questions of descent and of the rights of inheritance are considered by different tastes with such various degrees of interest or dislike, that it is difficult to find a subject less generally popular. For this reason I have hesitated, whether I should proproduce the chapter which I am about to transcribe. Some will think it dull and insignificant; some will laugh at the empty vanity of birth; and some will be angry, because they will conceive that it touches upon their own pretensions.

In this strangely-mingled constitution, in which aristocracy and commercial wealth are continually struggling for the mastery; in which the greatest families have been frequently degraded, and thrown back among the humblest stations of society to struggle with poverty, contempt, and oppression, till their birthrights have been forgotten, or denied and overwhelmed, while persons immediately sprung from the lowest dregs of the people have risen by sudden and meanly obtained wealth to the highest honours, and the alliance with princes, any consistency of judgment on these subjects will be sought Many put too great, and many too little value on such an adventitious distinction. But among those, who estimate it too highly, envy and jealousy prompt no small number to tear away the laurels from others, to which they cannot make pretensions themselves.

Of admitted pedigrees it is difficult to extract from the incongruous remarks we hear, what it is, which is deemed most worthy of notice and fame. Some fix on wealth, some on titles, some on preferments and places; some on active life, and some on an independent and dignified retreat; some on talents; and some on virtue. Which ever of all these be chosen as the ground of pretensions, ill-temper and ingenuity always set some of the others in opposition to it, with the hope of reducing it below themselves.

The world however admit with doubt and dislike any of these claims. To "make the past predominate over the present," is a kind of intellectual effort not suited to the gross capacities of the mob. A splendid equipage, a luxurious table, proud li-

veries, and a gorgeous coronet, they can feel and worship in a cut-throat Nabob, or swindling contractor, though they remember them once drudging in the meanest occupations. But the descendants of princes and kings, who have ruled kingdoms by their talents, and filled the globe with their heroism, are mean and insignificant in their eyes, if they have not themselves commanding estates, and are not placed in seats of rank and power, even though they should possess brilliant genius, and talents which have never come into active employment only because they may be too high for it!

Whether any one is wise in laying any stress whatever on the distinctions of birth is a fair question. For my own part, I am inclined to think upon the whole, that it is inconsistent with a sound wisdom to regard it. The major part of those, who have exhibited the most sublime and admirable of all human qualities have been men of the lowest ex-Such were Virgil, (if not Homer) Horace, traction. Shakspeare, Chatterton, Burns, and Kirke White. Nor had Spenser, Milton, Cowley, Pope or Gray, any pretensions to superior birth. On the contrary, many families which have for ages been in possession of honours, wealth, and power, have not in the long track of centuries produced one man conspicuous for abilities, or energy; or even eminent for private To such families pedigree is a disgrace: it only furnishes a light to exhibit their defects and their baseness more conspicuously.

It is not to be supposed, that every member of a numerous race will have either eminent talents, or a good disposition. Nor can those, who oc-

casionally fall below the standard of their alliances, be permitted to throw a cloud over a whole house. But among those, who think birth a circumstance of high value, there is another question, and a very idle one, often agitated. It is contended by many that the honours of birth are confined to the male line! Sir William Blackstone, who was himself a man of no eminent origin, wished to annihilate at once the distinctions of descent, by shewing how small a portion of blood of any one ancestor an individual possesses after a few generations. He applied this, if I recollect, to the case of kinship to Archbishop Chichely, who founded All Soul's College with a preference, as to fellowships, to his own relations. But if this argument be admitted, where is it to stop? What is the precise quantum of blood, at which it shall be deemed that affinity is worn out? In truth such an argument leads to the most gross absurdity, and is very unbecoming so sound a mind as Blackstone's! The male line will always necessarily have the advantage in point of credit with the world, because the name is itself a perpetual indication of the descent. It may be more rationally questioned how far a low and unequal alliance counteracts the honour:--to which, however, it may be replied, that it leaves the proportion, in right of which the distinction is claimed, unaltered. And, in truth, in this country of mixed ranks, such an objection would at once annihilate the honours of almost all the most ancient and powerful families remaining in this country; such as Howard, Seymour, Courtnay, Talbot, Percy, Cecil, Compton, Mordaunt, Stanhope, Berkeley, Neville, Digby, Pelham, Devereux,

St. John, De Spenser, De Clifford, Audley, Argyle, Hastings, Lyttelton, and Bertie.

It is well known how often the regal blood of our present royal family has changed the male line—from Plantagenet to Tudor, thence to Stuart, and again to another branch of Stuart—and thence to that of the Elector Palatine, before it came to the House of Brunswick. Yet surely his Majesty does not less partake of the rights and honours derived from the blood of Hen. VII. and Elizabeth of York, than if his descent had been confined to the male line.

I will now transcribe the account of the House of Suffolk.

" Of the House of Suffolk, conteyning the claymes of the Countesse of Darby and her children, as also of the children of the Earle of Hartford.

"It hath appeared by the genealogie set downe before in the third chapter, and oftentymes mentioned since, how that the house of Suffolk is so called, for that the Lady Mary second daughter of King Henry the Seventh, being first married to Lewis XII. King of France,* was afterwards married to Charles Brandon Duke of Suffolke, who being sent over to condole the death of the said King, got the good will to marry† the widow Queene, though the common fame of al men was, that the said Charles had a wife lyving at that day, and divers yeares after, as in this chapter we shal examine more in particuler.

^{*} She was married Oct. 9, 1514; and King Lewis died Jan. 1, 1515, at. 53.

[†] This marriage took place in 1517.

- "By this Charles Brandon then Duke of Suffolk, this Queene Mary of France had two daughters, first the Lady Francis, married to Syr Henry Gray Marques Dorset, and afterward in the right of his wife, Duke also of Suffolke, who was afterward be-hedded by Queene Mary,* and secondly Lady Elenor married to Syr Henry Clifford Earle of Cumberland.
- "The Lady Frances, elder daughter of the Queene, and of Charles Brandon, had issue by her husband the said last Duke of Suffolke, three daughters, to wit, Jane, Catherine, and Mary, which Mary the youngest was betrothed first to Arthur Lord Gray of Wilton, and after lefte by hym, she was marryed to one M. Martin Keyes of Kent, Gentleman Porter of the Queene's Housholde, and after she dyed without issue.†
- "And the Lady Jane the eldest of the three sisters was married at the same tyme to the Lord Guylford Dudley, fourth sonne to Syr John Dudley Duke of Northumberland, and was proclaymed Queene after the death of King Edward, for which acte al three of them, to wit, both the father, sonne, and daughter-in-law, were put to death soone after.
- "But the Lady Catherin the second daughter, was married first uppon the same day that the other two her sisters were, unto Lord Henry Herbert now Earle of Pembroke, and uppon the fal and misery of her house, she was left by him, and so she lived a sole woman for divers yeares, until in the begining of this Queene's dayes, she was found to be with child;

+ She was deformed.

^{*} He was beheaded Feb. 23, 1554. The Duchess remarried Adrian Stokes, Esq. She has a monument in Westminster Abbey.

which she affirmed to be by the Lord Edward Sevmour Earle of Hartford who at that tyme was in France, with Syr Nicholas Throgmorton the Embassador, and had purpose and licence to have travailed into Italie; but being called home in haste uppon this new accident, he confessed that the child was his, and both he and the Lady affirmed that they were man and wife; but for that they could not prove it by witnesses, and for attempting such a match with one of the blood royal, without privity and license of the Prince, they were committed both of them to the Tower, where they procured meanes to meete againe afterward, and have another childe, which both children do yet live, and the elder of them is called Lord Henry Beacham, and the other Edward Seymer;* the mother of whom lived not long after, neither married the Earle againe, until of late that he married the Lady Francis Howard. sister to the Lady Sheffield; and this is all the issue of the elder daughter of Charles Brandon, by Lady Mary Queene of France.†

"The second daughter of Duke Charles, and the Queene, named L. Elenor, was married to Henry Lord Clifford, Earl of Cumberland, and had by him a daughter named Margaret, that married ‡ Syr

This Edward was afterwards Lord Beauchamp; he was born about 1563, and died in August 1618, in his father's lifetime, leaving issue by Honora, second daughter of Sir Richard Rogers of Brianstone, in Dorsetshire, 1. Edward Lord Beauchamp, who died in his grandfather's life without issue. 2. William Lord Beauchamp, afterwards Marquis of Hertford, &c. 3. Sir Francis Seymour, ancester of Charles, the proud Duke.

⁺ This Earl of Hertford survived till April 1, 1621.

¹ Viz. Feb. 7, 1555.

Henry Stanley, Lord Strange, and after Earle of Darby,* by whom the said Lady † (who yet liveth) hath had issue Fernande Stanley, now Earle of Darby,‡ William § and Francis Stanley, and this is the issue of the house of Suffolke, to wit, this Countesse of Darby, with her children, and these other of the Earle of Hartford; of al whose claymes and titles with their impediments, I shal here briefly give accompt and reason.

"First of al, both of these families do joyne togegether in this one pointe to exclude the house of
Scotland both by foraine birth, and by the foresaid
testament of King Henry, authorized by two Parliaments, and by the other exclusions which in each of
the titles of the King of Scots and of Lady Arabella
hath ben before alleaged. But then secondly they
come to vary betweene themselves, about the priority
or propinquitie of their owne succession, for the
children of the Earle of Hertford, and their frendes
do alleage, that they do discend of Lady Francis the
elder sister of Lady Elenor, and so by law and reason are to be preferred; but the other house alleageth
against this, two impediments, the one, that the

^{*} He died Sept. 25, 1594.

[†] She outlived her husband three years, dying Sept. 29, 1596, aged 56.

[†] Died before his mother, April 16, 1594. This Earl Ferdinando left three daughters his coheirs—1. Lady Anne, wife of Grey Bruges Lord Chandos, and afterwards of Mervin Earl of Castlehaven, in 1624, and died 1647—2. Lady Frances married John Egerton, first Earl of Bridgewater, and died March 11, 1635—3. Lady Elizabeth married Henry Hastings Earl of Huntingdon, and died Jan. 20, 1632.

[§] Succeeded his brother as Earl of Derby, and died Sept. 29, 1642.

Lady Margaret, Countesse of Darby, now lyving, is neerer by one degree to the stemme, that is, to King Henry the Seventh, then are the children of the Earle of Hartford, and, consequently, according to that which in the former fourth chapter hath bin declared, she is to be preferred, albeit the children of the said Earle were legitimate.

"Secondly they do affirme that the said children of the Earle of Hartford by the Lady Catherin Gray, many waies are illegitimate. First for that the said Lady Catherin Gray their mother was lawfully married before to the Earle of Pembrok now living, as hath bin touched, and publike recordes do testifie, and not lawfully seperated, nor by lawful authority, nor for just causes, but only for temporal and worldly respects, for that the house of Suffolk was come into misery and disgrace, wherby she remayned stil his true wife in deede and before God, and so could have no lawful children by an other, while he lived, as yet he doth.

"Agayne they prove the illegitimation of these children of the Earle of Hartford, for that it could never be lawfully proved that the said Earle and the Lady Catherin were married, but only by their owne assertions, which in law is not holden sufficient, for which occasion the said pretended marriage was disanulled in the Court of Arches, by publique and definitive sentence, of Dr. Parker, Archbishop of Canterbury, and Prymate of Ingland, not long after the birth of the said children.

"Further-more they do add yet another bastardy also, in the birth of Lady Catherin herselfe, for that her father Lord Henry Gray Marquis of Dorset was knowne to have a lawful wife alive when he married the Lady Francis, daughter and hevre of the Queene of Fraunce, and of Charles Brandon Duke of Suffolke, and mother of this Lady Catherin, for obtevning of which great marriage, the said Marques put away his foresaid lawful wife, which was sister to the Lord Henry Fytzallen Earle of Arondel, which disorder was occasion of much unkindness and hatred betweene the said Marquis and Earle ever after. But the power of the Marquis and favour with King Henry in women's matters, was so great at that tyme, as the Earle could have no remedie, but only that his said sister, who lived many yeares after, had an annuitye out of the said Marquis lands during her life. and lived some yeares after the said Marquis (afterwards made Duke) was put to death in Queene Marie's tyme.

"These then are three waies by which the family of Darby do argue the issue of Hartford to be illegitimate. But the other two houses of Scotland and Clarence do urge a former bastardy also that is common to them both, "to wit, both against the Lady Frances, and the Lady Eleanor: for that the Lord Charles Brandon also Duke of Suffolk had a wife alive, as before hath bin signified, when he married the Lady Mary Queene of France, by which former wife he had issue the Lady Powyse (I meane the wife of my Lord Powyse of Poystlandes in Wales) and how long after the new marriage of her husband Charles Brandon this former wife did live, I cannot set downe distinctly, though I think it were not hard to take particular information therof in Ingland, by the register of the church wherein she was buried;

but the frendes of the Countesse of Darby do affirme, that she died before the birth of Lady Eleanor the second daughter; though after the birthe of Lady Frances; and thereby they do seeke to cleere the familie of Darby of this bastardye, and to lay al foure uppon the children of Hartford before mentioned; but this is easy to be known and verified by the meanes before signified.

"But now the frendes of Hartford do answere to al these bastardies, that for the first two pretended by the marriages of the two Dukes of Suffolk, they save that either the causes might be such, as their devorces with their former wives might be lawful, and prove them no marriages, and so give them place to marry againe, or els that the said former wives dyd dye before these Dukes that had bin their husbands, so as by a post-contract and second new consent, given betweene the parties when they were now free, the said later marriages which were not good at the beginning, might come to be lawful afterwards, according as the law permitteth, notwithstanding that children begotten in such pretended marriages where one partye is alredy bounde, are not made legitimat, by subsequent trew marriage of their parentes; and this for the first two bastardies.

"But as for the third illegitimation of the contract betweene the Lady Catherin and the Earle of Hartford, by reason of a precontract made betweene the said Lady Catherin and the Earle of Pembroke, that now liveth, they saye and affirme, that precontract to have bin dissolved afterward lawfully and judicially, in the tyme of Queene Mary.

"There remayneth then only the fourth objection,

about the secret marriage made betweene the said Lady Catherin and the Earle of Hartford, before the birth of their eldest sonne, now called Lord Beacham, which, to say the truth, seemeth the hardest pointe to be answered; for albeit in the sight of God that marriage might be good and lawful, if before their carnal knowledge they gave mutual consent the one to the other, to be man and wife, and with that mynde and intention had carnal copulation, which thing is also allowed by the late councel of Trent itselfe, which disanulleth otherwise al clandestine and secret contracts in such states and countries, wher the authoritie of the said councel is receaved. and admitted; yet to justifie these kinde of marriages in the face of the church, and to make the issue therof legitimate and inheritable to estates and possessions, it is necessary by al law, and in al nations, that there should be some witnes to testifie this consent and contract of the parties before their carnal knowlege: for that otherwise it should lye in every particular man's hand, to legitimate any bastard of his, by his only woord, to the prejudice of others that might in equitie of succession pretend to be his heyres, and therfore (no doubt) but that the Archbishop of Canterbury had great reason to pronounce this contract of the Lady Catherin, and the Earle of Hartford, to be insufficient and unlawful, though themselves did affirme that they had given mutual consent before, of being man and wife, and that they came together, animo maritali, as the law of wedlock requireth; but yet for that they were not able to prove their said former consent by lawful witnesses, their saide conjunction was rightly pro-VOL. IV.

nounced unlawful; and so I conclude that the first sonne of these two parties might be legitimate before God; and yet illegitimate before men; and consequently incapable of al such succession, as otherwise he might pretend by his said mother.

"And this now is for the first begotten of these two persons; for as touching the second childe, begotten in the Tower of London, divers learned men are of opinion that he may be freed of this bastardy, for that both the Earle and the Lady, being examined uppon the first child, did confesse and affirme that they were man and wife, and that they had meaning so to be and to continew, which confession is thought to be sufficient, both for ratifying of their old contract, and also for making of a new, yf the other had not been made before. And seeing that in the other former pretended contract and marriage, there wanted nothing for justifying the same before men, and for making it good in law, but only external testimony of witnesses, for proving that they gave such mutual consent of myndes before their carnal knowlege (for the presence of priest or minister is not absolutely necessary) no man can say that there wanted witnesses for testifying of this consent, before the second copulation, by which was begotten their second sonne: for that both the Queene herselfe and her counsel, and as many besides as examined these parties uppon their first acte and child birth are witnesses unto them that they gave their ful consents and approbations, to be man and wife, which they ratified afterward in the Tower by the begetting of their second child; and so for the reasons aforesaid, he must needs seeme to be legitimate, whatsoever

my Lord of Canterbury for that tyme, or in respect of the great offence taken by the estate against that act, did or myght determine to the contrary.

" And this is the somme of that which is commonly treated, about these two families of the House of Suffolk, to wit of Hartford and Darby, both which families of Suffolke, the other two opposite houses of Scotland and Clarence, do seeke to exclude by the first bastardy, or unlawful contract betweene the Queene of France, and Charles Brandon, as hath bin seene: of which bastardye the House of Darby doth indevour to avoide itself in manner as before hath bin declared; and preferreth itselfe in degree of propinquity not only before the foresaid two Houses of Scotland and Clarence, but also before this other part of the House of Suffolke; I meane the familie of Hartford, though descended of the elder daughter; for that the Countesse of Darby doth holde herselfe one degree neerer in discent, than are the other pretenders of Hartford as hath bin shewed. And albeit there want not many objections and reasons of some, besides that which I have touched before, yet for that they are for the most part personal impediments, and do not touch the right or substance of the title, or any other important reason of state concerning the common wealth, but only the mislike of the persons that pretende, and of their life and government, I shall omit them in this place; for that as in the beginning I promised, so shal I observe as much as lieth in me, to utter nothing in this conference of ours, that may justly offend, and much lesse touche the honor or reputation of any one person of the bloode royal of our realme. When the

tyme of admitting or excluding cometh, then wil the realme consider as wel of their persons as of their rightes, and wil se what accompt and satisfaction ech person hath given of his former life and doings, and according to that wil proceede, as is to be supposed: but to me in this place, it shal be enough to treat of the first pointe, which is of the right and interest pretended by way of succession; and so with this I shal make an ende of these families and passe over to others, that yet do remayne."

Extract from Chap. V.

Among many other objections to the title of the Lady Arabella, the last is as follows: " Another consideration of these men is, that if this Lady should be advanced unto the crowne, though she be of noble blood by her father's side, yet in respect of alliance with the nobility of Ingland shee is a meere strainger, for that her kyndred is only in Scotland, and in Ingland shee hath only the Candishes by her mother's side, who being but a meane familie might cause much grudging among the Inglish nobilitie, to see them so greatly advanced above the rest, as necessarily they must be, yf this woman of their linage should come to be Queene; which how the nobility of Ingland would beare is hard to say; and this is as much as I have heard others say of this matter and of al the house of Scotland: wherfore with this I shal end, and passe over to treat also of the other houses that do remayne of such as I before named."

Extracts from Chapter X.

" In the House of Suffolke the Lord Beacham and the Earle of Darby have the difference of titles that

before hath bin seene, and each one his particuler reasons why he ought to be preferred before the other, and for their other abilities and possibilities. they are also different, but yet in one thing both Lords seeme to be like, that being both of the blood royal they are thought to have abased themselves much by their marriages with the two Knightes daughters, Sir Richard Rogers, and Sir John Spenser.* though otherwise both of them very worshipful, but not their matches in respect of their kindred with the crowne: yet doth the alliance of Sir John Spenser seeme to bring many more frends with it then that of Sir Richard Rogers, by reason of the other daughters of Sir John, wel married also to persons of importance, as namely the one to Sir George Carey. Governour of the Isle of Wight who bringeth in also the Lord Hunsdon his father captaine of Barwick, two of the most important peeces that Ingland hath.

"And for that the said Lord Hunsdon and the Lady Knowles disceased, were brother and sister, and both of them children to the Lady Mary Bullen, elder sister to Queen Anne, hereof it cometh, that this alliance with Sir George Carey, may draw after it also the said House of Knowles, who are many and of much importance, as also it may do the husbandes of the other daughters of Sir John Spencer, with their adherents and followers, which are neither few, nor feeble, al which wanteth in the marriage of the Lord Beacham.

^{*} Sir John Spencer of Althorp, ancestor to the *present* great families of Marlborough and Spencer. This was the famous Alice Countess of Derby.

"An other difference also in the ability of these two Lords is, that the House of Seymers in state and title of nobility is much yonger then the House of Stanleys, for that Edward Seymer late Earle of Hartford, and after Duke of Somerset, was the first beginner thereof, who being cut off together with his brother the Admiral, so soone as they were, could not so settle the said House, especially in the alliance with the residue of the nobilitie, as otherwise they would and might have done. But now as it remayneth, I do not remember any allyance of that house, of any great moment, unless it be the children of Sir Henry Seimer of Hampshire, and of Sir Edward Seymer* of Bery Pomery, in Devonshire, if he have any, and of Sir John Smith of Essex, whose mother was sister to the late Duke of Somerset; or finally the alliance that the late marriage of the Earle of Hartford with the Lady Frances Howard, may bring with it, which cannot be much, for so great a purpose as we talke of.

"But the Earle of Darby on the other side is very strongly and honorably allied, both by father and mother, for by his father, not to speake of the Stanleys, (which are many and of good power, and one of them matched in the House of Northumberland,†) his said father, the old Earle, had three sisters, wel married, and al have left children, and heyres of the

^{*} Ancestor to the present Duke of Somerset.

[†] Sir Edward Stanley of Tonge Castle in Shropshire, son of Sir Thomas Stanley, second son of Edward third Earl of Derby, married Lady Lucy Percy, daughter and coheir of Thomas seventh Earl of Northumberland; he died 1632. The famous Lady Venetia Digby was his daughter.

houses, wherein they were married; for the elder was married, first to the Lord Sturton,* after to Sir John Arundel,† and of both Houses hath left hevres The seconde sister was married to the Lord Morley, by whom she hath left the Lord that now is, who in lyke manner hath matched with the heyre of the Lord Montegle who is likewise a Stanley. And finally the third sister was married to Sir Nicholas Poynes of Glocestershire, and by him had a sonne and heyre that yet liveth. 1 And this by the father's side; but no lesser alliance hath this Earle also by the side of his mother, who being daughter of George" [Henry] " Clifford Earle of Cumberland, by Lady Eleanor neece of King Henry the Seventh, the said Lord George" [Henry] " had afterward by a second wife, that was daughter of Lord Dacre of the North, both the Earle of Cumberland that now is, and the Lady Wharton, who are hereby brother and sister of the halfe blood, to the said Countesse of Darby, and the Dacres are their uncles.

"Besides al this, the states and possessions of the two forsaide Lordes, are far diffrent, for the purposse pretended; for that the state of the Earle of Hartford is far inferior, both for greatnes, situation,

^{*} Charles Lord Stourton, memorable for his unhappy exit at Salisbury, March 16, 1557.

⁺ Of Lanherne in Cornwall.

[†] This match is not mentioned in the Peerages, which mention Mary married to Edward Lord Stafford; and Jane to Edward Lord Dudley.

[§] It must be observed that Sir James Stanley, ancestor of the present Earl of Derby, branched off in 1497, before these alliances took place.

wealth, multitude of subjects, and the like: for of that of the Stanleys, doth depend the most part of the shires of Lancaster and Chester; and a goode parte of the north of Wales, (at least wise by way of observance and affection) as also the Isle of Man, is their owne; and Ireland and Scotland is not far off, where friendship perhaps in such a case might be offered, and finally in this poynte of abillity great oddes is there seene betweene these Lordes.

"As for their religion, I cannot determyne what difference there is, or may be betweene them. The Lord Beacham is presumed to be a protestant, albeit some hold that his father, and father-in-law be more inclined towards the Puritans. The Earle of Darbyes religion is held to be more doubtful, so as some do think him to be of al three religions, and others of none; and these agayne are devided in judgments, about the event heerof, for that some do imagine that this opinion of him may do him goode, for that al sides heerby may perhapps conceave hope of him, but others do persuade themselves that it wil do him hurt, for that no side in deede will esteeme or trust him, so as al matters with their events and consequences do remayne* uncertaine."

^{*} Robertson mentions this book. "The Catholics," says he, "who were in exile, advanced the claim of the Infanta of Spain; and Parsons the jesuit published a book, in which by false quotations from history, by fabulous genealogies, and absurd arguments, intermingled with bitter invectives against the King of Scots, he endeavoured to prove the Infanta's title to the English crowne to be preferable to King James's," &c.

[†] While this article was transcribing, the following appeared in the Gazette.

ART. CCLXXIV. A Discoverye of a Counterfecte Conference helde at a counterfecte place, by counterfecte travellers, for the advancement of a counterfecte tytle, and invented, printed, and published by one (Person) that dare not avowe his name. Printed at Collen 1600. Small 8vo. pp. 96.

This, which is an Answer to Parsons's book entitled Doleman's Conference, of which a full account

" Whitehall, January 22, 1808.

"The King, taking into his royal consideration that upon the death of Francis, late Duke of Bridgewater, without issue of his body, the title of Earl of Bridgewater is devolved upon John William now Earl of Bridgewater, as son and heir of the late Right Reverend Father in God John Egerton, Lord Bishop of Durham, and great grandson and heir male of the body of John Earl of Bridgewater, grandfather of the said Duke, and by the ordinary rules of honour the younger brother and sister of the said Earl cannot enjoy that place and precedency, which would have been due to them in case the said title and dignity had descended to him from his father; and also considering that the said Earl is now heir male of the body of Sir John Egerton, Knt. created, Earl of Bridgewater by King James the First, in the fifteenth year of his reign, and of the said Earl's wife Frances Stanley, (commonly called Lady Frances Stanley,) one of the daughters and coheirs of Ferdinando Stanley, Earl of Derby, son and heir of Henry Stanley, Earl of Derby, and of his wife Margaret Clifford, (commonly called Lady Margaret Clifford,) daughter and only child of Henry Clifford, Earl of Cumberland, by his first wife Eleanor Brandon (commonly called Lady Eleanor Brandon,) who was daughter and coheir of Charles Brandon, Duke of Suffolk, and of his wife the Princess Mary, younger daughter of King Henry the Seventh, and Dowager Queen of France; and that through his deceased mother Anna Sophia Grey, (commonly called Lady Anna Sophia Grey), he is grandson, and younger coheir of Henry Grey, late Duke and Earl of Kent, who was heir male of the body of Sir Edmond Grey, created Earl of Kent in the fifth year of King Edward the Fourth, which Sir Edmond

has already been given in this work, is said to be so excessively rare as to be almost unique.

The following is the Preface.

" To the Auctor of the Counterfaicte Conference, &c.

"It were as easy for me, yf I would, to discover your name with assured proofes, as to detect the devises and driftes of your counterfeat conference made at Amsterdam, but since as it seameth you are ashamed to justify the same with your name, I am not he that will publishe it, because it might be thought by somme, that are redye to interpret things to the worst, that hatred might induce me thereunto: that which I desire chefely to be effected by this discourse, next to the inconvenience that might generally have growen by your fraude and desceit

Grey Earl of Kent, was son and heir of Sir John Grey and of his wife Constance Holland, (commonly called Lady Constance Holland,) whose father, Sir John Holland, Duke of Exeter and Earl of Huntingdon, was son and heir male of the body of Lady Joan Plantagenet, daughter of King Edward the First's youngest son. Edward Plantagenet of Woodstock, Earl of Kent, and whose mother, Lady Elizabeth Plantagenet, daughter of King Edward the Third's son, John of Gaunt Duke of Lancaster, and of his first wife, Lady Blanch Plantagenet, daughter and heir of Henry Plantagenet, Duke of Lancaster, who was grandson and heir of King Henry the Third's second son, Edmond Plantagenet, Earl of Lancaster, has been graciously pleased to ordain and declare, that Francis Henry Egerton, only younger brother, and Dame Amelia Hume, wife of Sir Abraham Hume, Bart. only sister of the said Earl, shall from henceforth have, hold, and enjoy the same titles, place, pre-eminence, and precedence, as if their said father John late Lord Bishop of Durham had survived his said cousin Francis late Duke of Bridgewater: and also to order, that this his Majesty's concession and declaration be recorded in his College of Arms."

undesciphered, is that you would looke upon your ignorance or malice, or perhapes bothe, which is manifest by seakinge to make division betwene Christian Princes, that are in charitye one with another, by defacing the monarchical state, which so longe tyme hath ben used and approved, and by disposinge of the crown of Englande, not weighinge wheare the right lieth, but whear your fancy best liketh; if in this later point you would excuse yourselfe by saying you determine no man's tytle, the course of your whole booke and diverses practices de facto shewe the contrarye.

"These things be not of small weight or importance, for that they concern kings and kingdoms, and require the practise wisedome and experience of other maner of heddes than yours is, yea and that in nombre to the assembly of a court Parlement. Tharfore you maye see what cause of discontentment you geve to all wise and indifferent men, and what disgrace you have braught to yourself and bretherne: for that, if any happen to be king of Englande besides those two youe would seem to advance, it is likelye, according to the rules of policye and state, that yourself will be in question for meddlinge in these matters above your reach and capacitye, and your bretherne will be blamed and banished out of the country for approving, or at least for not chastising your lewde and yvell demenor: methinketh the preventing of these incomodities should make you consider of somme remedyes, and the remorse of your conscience should breede repentaunce, which coming from the bottom of your harte will force youe, in as ample and publicke maner, to disclame

and disavowe your sayd conference, as ever passion and partialitye did invite you to set forthe the same. This is the best and easiest waye to satisfye the Princes discontented, the people scandalized, and yourself endaungered, and this is that I suppose your wisest friendes will advise you unto: for my particular; I do pray for you, and wishe no waye revenge to your person, but reformation in your manners, as God I call to witnes, who direct youe to that which is best."

The tract itself begins in the following manner:

"It is observed, and hath bene noted longe in the worlde, that no vanitye is so light, which beareth not somme credit, no fable so phantastical, but some will believe it, nothinge so disorderly attempted which hath not found a supporter. Even so it falleth out touchinge a certen vaine diet appointed somme years past to abuse the worlde, under the title of a conference aboute the next succession to the crowne of Englande, beinge in deede a confused bablinge of idle troublesome travailers, without interest to deale in suche matter, and a very confederacie of a practize against the Blood Royal, state and dignitye of that nation.

"Therefore wanting the true and certain place, persone, author, and other due circumstances; it may well be called an infamous fablinge chartel or libel, feigned to be conceived in Holland, knowen to be fostered in Spayne, falselie fathered of R. Dolman, printed at N. to wit no certaine place justifiable, with licence of, it may not be knowen who. Neverthelesse all must be so commended at the first sight for pleasure and utilitye, the author

so extolled for sharpnesse of witte, plentye of much readinge, cunninge in conveyhance, abondance of eloquence, and other graces, as none can find any want or default. Nay, (to amplify the estimation as well of the author as of the libel) it is provided that whosoever by worde, deede, or contenance, seemeth to dislike the one or the other, all such persons must be reputed by a common fame, and thereupon condemned as enemies to the privat designes of the Kinge Catholique, and adversaries to the common cause. Albeit it is very likely that the late Kinge of Spayne, nor this King living, were every privee to the contents of that libel, nor expressly consented to the publishing thereof, as will appear hereafter; therefore it is but a ridiculouse sentence so rashlye to censure men, and very partial, suche also, as advanceth the credit neyther of King nor cause.

"For when a man pretendethe a clayme never heard of in any age, to another man's lande whose quiet possession actually, and right also apparently in all wyse mens eyes, have concurred and continued manye hundreds of years, in him and those whose state and title he hath, and injoyeth, no indifferent wise man will allowe, that the sodainlye supposed pretender may have any reason by a bare clayme to think that he should beare all away without contradiction: especially when the claym exceedeth measure, is misliked generally, and bringeth with it suspicion of evil dealinge other wayes, as made by travailing strangers, without the supposed pretender's warrant and privitie. In respect whereof, and for want of upright behaviour,

the same crime may be imputed more justly to the libeller, and his libel as prejudiciall to the same King and cause.

"The principal scoape and drift, fyrst in mind. though last in operation, and in mean while dissembled (besides the deposinge of the present possessor) is to supplant, dispossesse and disinherit the true heire and lawfull successor of the English crown, with all the offspring, to translate and alter the ancient lawes and customs of that realm, and consequently to transform the government of that nation into a province; or at the least to thrust into the Royall throne, against the right course of English laws, a forainer bred and born far off, which nevther in her owne personne; nor any braunche of the roote from whence theis practizers pretend to derive hir title, was ever herde or thought of in the memory of man, nor beforementioned in any record of any age, to such effect or purpose as now is devised; nay, if any such things have bene spoken of, theis smoothe conferers have practized in time past to suppress it, and to bear the garland another way, and that not long agoe, as hereafter shall be declared.

"And for the wayes and means to draw this on, they are many, but all roughe, uneven, tedious, indirect, out of the highe waye that may be lead to any good end, all things well weighed, yet agreable to such an attempt: as in like troublesome interprizes it falleth out, that odd shifts must be made for tools to remove blocks, to skower streets, and make ways clearer, for crafty surmises and wily insinuations to walke more smoothly and currantly to the marke.

Touching the scope and butte of the booke I will speak hereafter generally, for the particular mischiefs therefevery true Englishman dooth throughlye see at the first sight. In the mean tyme, let us search the wayes to see what monsters lye hidden therein; and soe we shall find the effects like to follow the practizes of their conferers, what gloriouse pretence soever they geve.

The following are the contents of the remainder— "A general compact of the Conferrers to bring England to the Civil Lawe Roman-A special compact that two lawyers and not law must be umpiers of this matter-Six articles of the lawyer's agreement-The civilian must lead the temporal lawyer -Popularitye-Popular doctrine-Feigned maxims of forcing laws to direct the Crowne for a common fame—A surmised dowtfullness—Practice a dangerous ensinuation-A seditiouse challenge-Shifts to further surmise by complying with the tyme-Dissimulation and duplicitie in speach must be used -No heyr apparent must be known-To wynne tyme by false bruyts-The Queen must seem to be put in securitie for her tyme-Things must be affirmed by way of protestation onely-The late Earl of Derby-The circumstances of effect like to follow this pattern of conference—A vaine evasion— General mischeifs of innovation—The libeller nayther profited the King nor the comon cause-Of disservice done to the King by this conference—The popular doctrine is ill grounded-Mischeifs in Scotlande by this popular doctrine—Mischeifs in Arragon

by the same doctrine-Mischeis of this doctrine in the Low Countries-This book of conferences was not published with the late King's privitye nor this living-No wise man will consent to his own wronge -The King prejudiced in state by the booke manye wayes in thiese days especially-No Kinge sure of, his state, but removable by law at will of people-A fond assumption of the lawyers—A crafty shift to blere the late king; and this living he eyes with a contradiction-Flatterye and dissimulation disgraceth any attempt-Blasphemies against the sacred state of Regall dignitye-Absurdities against bothe King and subject—A King is but tenant at will of the people—What rashe boldnesse these disgussed. lawyers shew-This author and lawyer mock and abuse the Kinge of Spayne-The author's extream malyce against the King of Scotlande—This author preocupieth the office of a Pope-This author refuseth to take his holiness as an example-No cause to esteme the Kinge of Scotlande desperate to be reconciled to the true Catholique churche as theis, lawyers wolde have the world to thincke."

ART. CCLXXV. Atrue discourse of the most happy victories obtayned by the French King, against the Rebels and enemies of his maiesty. With a particuler declaration of all that hath beene done betweene the two armies, during the monthes of September and October and part of Nouember 1589. Also of the taking of the subburbes of Paris by the King. Here vnto is adiouned a Mappe, wherein is set forth the whole platforme of the

Battells, for the better satisfying of the curteous reader. Faithfully translated out of French into English, according to the coppy imprinted at Tours. By T. D. London, printed for J. Woolfe, and E. White. 1589. 4to. 10 leaves.

T. D. must have been the initials of the original The translation has a short dedicatory epistle "to the right Honourable Lord Robert Deuorax, Earle of Essex and Ewe, Viscount of Harryford, and Bourchier, Lord Ferrers of Chartley, Burchier and Louaine, maister of the Queenes maiesties Horse, and Knight of the most honourable order of the garter: [to whom] Luke Wealsh wisheth all heauenly happiness, and increase of honourable vertue," and says, " in respect of your bonourable and magnanimous minde, your hardinesse in warres, and hatred to rebellion, sondrie times manifested to your eternall and well deserued praise, as also to declare my well affected hart to your honour, I have chosen you the patrone of this warlike discourse."-The next leaf entitles Luke Wealsh to a niche in the Bib. Poetica by eight sixline stanzas; from which are transcribed the last four. They are entitled "certain verses written by master Wealsh as a thankesgiuing vnto God, for the prosperous successe of the king."

—"Thou, O France! whose fame in former daies,
Did glorifie the pleasant western partes:
How oft in thee did God his wonders raise,
Which neuer yet could mollify your hartes?
But praised be our God of greatest power,
Who can confound his foes within ap howre.
YOL. IV.

What grieuous tumultes in thy towns are wrought?
What rage and bloudshed by thy city wales?
What wrongfull broyles and causelesse wars are sought?
What great rebellion on thy people falls?
But praysed be our God of greatest power,
Who can confound his foes within an howre.

Jerusalem that citty of renowne,
By divers tokens warned was of sinne;
And thou, O France! didst lately see a crowne
Plast in the skie, by God over the King;
As many men affirme and plainely shoe,
A wonderous thing if that the truth be so.

Then cease your iarres obey your soueraigne Lord,
Whom God from Heaven affirmes your louing king;
Whose heart, whose hand, doth seeke with one accord,
Your health, your wealth, and realme in peace to bring;
And blessed be our God of reatest power,
Who can confirme these blessings in an howre."

The victories narrated are those obtained by Henry IV. in support of his accession to the crown of France after that sanguinary conflict of the three Henries. In the army were "certain Englishe lords well mounted and armed, and most sumptuously attired; among the rest the noble gentleman maister d'Euerax, brother to the right honorable Earle of Essex, who was one of the formost and forwardest in the fight." Elizabeth assisted with morey and provisions as well as troops: four thousand English had "Lord Willoughbie their generall," which only appear a portion of the supplies. At the time the king lay in the fort of the Mount of Cats, "the first day of October the enemie planted sixe peeces of

ordenance upon the toppe of the hill by Ianuall shooting fine or sixe vollies of shot into the towns, wherewith was slaine one of the kings cookes, a woman, a maiden, and a boys, doing also great hurt unto two shippes which lay at anker in the hauen. But they withdrews soon after their cannons from that place, because by our cannons their maister gonner was slaine, and two pieces of their ordenance dismounted, which was done by a skilfull English cannonier, who was presented to the king by my Lord Stafford ambassadour to the Queene of England." The next three tracts upon the same subject, escaped the research of Herbert; the present article is insufficiently described by him, p. 1476.

J. H.

ART. CCLXXVI. The Letters Pattents of the Kings Declaration for the generall assemblie of the Princes, Cardinalls, Dukes and Peeres, as well Ecclesiasticall as Temporall, the officers of the Crowne, the Lords, Gentlemen, Officers and others, voto the 15 day of March next comming. Also to reclaime his subjects and rebellious townes to his obedience. Published in the Parliament of Caen the 32 of December 1589. Faithfullie translated out of the French copie printed at Caen. At London printed by Thomas Orwin for Augustine Lawton, dwelling in Maiden lane neere Woodstreete. n. d. 4to. 8 leaves.

A PROCLAMATION "given at our Campe before Many the 28 of November in the years of grace 1589 and of our reigne the first. Signed Henrie: and appearable fould, "By the king in his council.

Forget." again subscribed, "in the Parliament at Caen the 22d of December 1589 signed Godefroy." There is added a short extract from the register of same parliament, confirming the grant of pardon to those persons who had incurred the crime of felony and rebellion, except those that might be found guilty of the slaughter of the late King.

J. H.

ART. CCLXXVII. The Discouerer of France to the Parisians, and all other the French Nation. Faithfullie translated out of the French: by E. A. [Printer's device of a wyvern rising out of a dueal coronet, the crest of George Earl of Cumberland, &c.] Imprinted, 1590. 4to. 8 leaves.

THE initials appear to belong to Edward Aggus, the printer: they are to be found in the titles of several pieces translated from the same language, printed by him.

J. H.

ART. CCLXXVIII. A recitall of that which hath happened in the Kings Armie, since the taking of the suburbes of Paris, until the taking of the towne of Humflet [arms of France]. Imprinted at London for Tobie Cooke, 1590. 4to. 14 leaves.

At the end. "After the siege of Falese, the King gaue the Englishmen leaue to depart; and he himselfe with his armie, to weete, the Frenchmen and Switzers, Rutters and Lants-knights went vnto Lizeux, which within ten dayes after he took: and from thence his Matestie went vnto Humflet, which he did batter vpon Fridaie the xvj

of Ianuarie. At which time, part of our English forces were shipped at Dines in Normandie, and the rest, the morrow after."

J. H.

ART. CCLXXIX. An Ethiopian Historie: first written in Greeke by Heliodorus, and translated into English by T. V. No lesse witty then pleasant: being newly corrected, and augmented, with divers new additions by the same author. Whereunto is also annexed the argument of every booke in the beginning of the same, for the better understanding of the storie. Printed at London for William Cotton, and are to be sold at his shop, adjoyning to Ludgate, 1605. 4to. pp. 153, besides dedication, and address to the Reader.

THE dedication of this work to Edward de Veere, Earl of Oxford, &c. is signed "Thomas Underdowne."

This author was the translator of Ovid's Ibis, illustrated with notes, 1569, &c. Warton says he opened a new field of Romance, which seems partly to have suggested Sir Philip Sydney's Arcadia, by this translation of Heliodorus, which was first published in 1577. Abraham Fraunce also translated into English Hexameters the beginning of Heliodorus's History. *

ART. CCLXXX. A Restitution of Decayed Intelligence, in Antiquities, concerning the most noble and renowmed English nation. By the studie and

^{*} Wart, III, 419, 420. Theat, Poet, 110, 112,

travalle of R. V. Dedicated onto the King's Most Excellent Maiestie. [Engraved vignette of the Tower of Babell and division of mankind] Nationum Origo. Printed at Antwerp by Robert Brune, 1605, and to be sold at London in Paule's Church yeard, by John Norton and John Bill. 4to. pp. 338, exclusive of Introduction and Table.

ANOTHER edition, London, printed by John Bill, printer to the King's Most Excellent Maiestie, 1628, 4to.

Again, London, printed by John Norton, for Joyce Norton, and Richard Whitaker, and are to be sold, at the King's Armes, in S. Paul's Churchyard, 1634, 4to. Again, London, printed for Samuel Mearne, John Martyn, and Henry Herringman, 1673, 8vo.

Richard Verstegan, the author, has been already noticed in the 2d vol. of this Work for his odes, 1600. The Antwerp Edition is deservedly reckoned the best, as well on account of containing one or more engravings afterwards omitted, as also the superiority of the plates, those of the subsequent editions being very indifferent copies. A full account of the work is given by Oldya, in the British Librarian, p. 299.

Aut. CCLXXXI. The Lives of the three Normans, Kings of England: William the First, William the Second, Henrie the First. Written by J. H. Mart. Improbe facit qui in alieno libro ingeniosus est. Imprinted at London by R. B. Anno 1618. 4to. pp. 314. Besides the Epistle

Dedicatorie to Charles the First whilst Prince of Wales, pp. 6.

THE author, Sir John Hayward, Knight, whose historical works, as Wood informs us, " for the phrase and words in them were in their time esteemed very good," in his dedication tells us, that it was in consequence of a conversation that passed between the Prince Henry and himself, a short time previous to the decease of the former, he undertook to give the world a history of his own country during certain periods. * I cannot refrain from giving a short specimen of the manner in which he draws the character of that distinguished and promising young prince, "whose death," he says. " alasse! hath bound the lives of many vnto death, face to face; being no wayes able, either by forgetfulnesse to couer their griefe, or to diminish it with consideration." He then proceeds,

"For in trueth he was a Prince of a most heroical heart: free from many vices which sometimes accompanie high estates, full of most amiable and admirable virtues: of whose perfections the world was not worthy. His eyes were full of pleasant modestie; his countenance manly, beautifull; in bodie both strongly and delicately made; in behaviour sweetely sober, which gave grace to whatsoeuer he did. He was of a discerning wit; and for the facultie of his mind, of great capacitie and power,

real of the training

^{*}in addition to this work Hayward likewise wrote the Lives of Henry the Fourth and of Edward the Sixth, 1694, 1680, 4to, and as he informs us himself, finished "certaine xeeres of Queene Elizabeth's Reigne." This was printed with his Life of K. Edward VI. Lond. 8vo. 1636.

accompanied with equal expedition of will: much forseeing in his actions, and for passions a commander of himselfe; and of good strength to resist the power of Prosperitie. In counsaile he was ripe and measured; in resolution constant; his word ener led by his thought, and followed by his deede. And albeit hee was but youg, and his nature forward and free, yet his wisedom reduced both to a true temper of moderation; his desires being neuer aboue his reason, nor his hopes inferior to his desires. In a word, hee was the most faire fruit of his progenitours, an excellent ornament of the prement age, a true mirrour to posteritie; being so equally both setled to valour, and disposed to goodnesse and justice, as he expressed not onely tokens. but proofes, both of a courage, and of a grauitie and industrie right worthie of his estate."

The history of the Normans contains a very well written account of the period during which they lived: it abounds in anecdotes, many of which are to be found in no other publication of the kind, and is enriched with a variety of just remarks as well on the actions and characters of those whom it is intended to display, as on the manners of the times during which they flourished. I know of no other edition of it than this of 1613, excepting that it has been reprinted in the Harleian Miscellany, with some few notes, vol. II, p. 418.

P. B.

ART. CCLXXXII. Trayterovs Percyes & Catesbyes
Prosopopeia. Written by Edward Hawes, Scholler
at Westminster, a youth of sixteene yeeres old.
[Woodcut.] Imprinted at London by Simeon

Stafford, dwelling in the Cloth-Payre, at the signe of the Three Crownes. 1606. 4to.

DEDICATION in Latin, and one piece of Latin poetry, with translation, all by Hawes; then the poem, in eighty stanzas, of six lines each.

J. H.

ART. CCLXXXIII. A Declaration of the Demeanor and Cariage of Sir Walter Raleigh; Knighte, as well in his Voyage, as in and sithence, his returne; and of the true motives and inducements which occasioned his Majestie to proceed in doing justice upon him as hath been done. London: Printed by Bonham Norton and John Bill, Printers to the King's most Excellent Majestie. 1618.

ART. CCLXXXIV. Newes of Sir Walter Rauleigh, with the true Description of Guiana: as also a relation of the excellent government, and much hope of the prosperity of the Voyage. Sent from a Gentleman of his Fleet, to a most especiall friend of his in London. From the River of Caliana, on the Coast of Guiana, Novemb. 17, 1617. London: Printed for H. G. and are to be sold by J. Wright, at the signs of the Bible, without Nawgale. 1618. With Portrait. pp. 45.

THE following extracts I have taken from the latter work (both of which are very uncommon, but the latter especially,) intituled

"Orders to bee observed by the Commanders of the Fleete, and Land Companies, under the Charge and Conduct of Sir Walter Rauleigh, Knight, bound for the South Parts of America or elsowhere. Given at Plimouth in Devon, the third of May, 1617.

"First, because no action or enterprise can prosper (be it by sea or land) without the favour and assistance of Almighty God, the Lord and Strength of Hoasts and Armies, you shall not fayle to cause divine service to be read in your shippe, morning and evening, in the morning before dinner, and at night before supper, or at least (if there be interruption by foule weather) once the day, praysing God every might with singing of a psalme at the setting of the weatch.

Secondly, you shall take especial care that God be not blasphemed in your ship; but that after admonition given, if the offenders doe not refraine themselves, you shall cause them of the better sort to be fined out of their adventures, by which course, if no amendment bee found, you shall acquaint me withall: for if it be threatened in the scriptures, that the curse shall not depart from the house of the swearer, much lesse from the ship of the swearer.

"No man shall play at cards or dice, either for his apparill or armes, upon paine of being disarmed and made a swabber; and whosoever shall shew himselfe a coward upon any landing or otherwise, hee shall bee disarmed, and made a labourer and carrier of victualls for the rest.

"No man shall land any men in any forraigne parts, without order from the generall, the serjeantmayor or other chiefe officer, upon paine of death; and wheresoever were shall have cause to land, no man shall force any woman, bee shee Christian or Heathen upon paine of death; and you shall take especiall care when God shall suffer us to land in the Indies, not to eat any fruits unknowne; such fruits as you doe not find eaten by birds on the tree, or beasts under the tree, you shall a word.

"You shall not sleepe on the ground, nor est any new flesh till it bee salted two or three houres, which otherwise will breed a most dangerous fluxe; so will the eating of over fat hoggs or turkies: you shall also have a great care, that you swim not in any rivers but where you see the Indians swim, because most of the rivers are full of allegators: you shall not take any thing from any Indian by force, for from thenceforth we shall never be releaved; but you must use them with all courtesie."

J. H. M.

Ardwick, Lancashire, May 19, 1807.

ART. CCLXXXV. The Court of the most illustrious and most magnificent James the First, King of Great Britaine, France, and Ireland, &c. With divers rules, most pure precepts, and selected definitions lively delineated.

"Principibus placuisse viris, non ultima laus est.
To please the best, best praise I doe it judge;
Let Grill be Grill; I passe not Envie's grudge."

London: Printed by Edw. Griffin, in Eliot's Court in the Little Old Baily, neere the King's Head. 1620. Small 4to. pp. 168, exclusive of Dedication, Preface, &c.

Artis excellent little treatise, although addressed to the courtiers of James the First, is well worthy the perusal of those belonging to George III. It is inscribed to "George Marquisse Buckingham, Vicount Villiers, &c. &c." the well known favourite of James I. And the dedication is signed with the initials A. D. B.

The principal object of the author appears to have been to warn the courtier " to bee most wary and headfull that out of himselfe hee draw a rule to rectifie and governe his owne life, that hee be content to teste the sower with the sweete, and in court to expect as well burthen-some blame and injurie as beautiful fame and dignity," and "to let him knowe, and knowe assuredly, that he which enters into the court enters into such a kind of life as comprehends much more labour and care than ease and quietnesse."

The chief part of the work, consists of a code of useful admonitions, with some good advice, to those engaged both in the domestic and foreign services of their princes, whom the author compares to "soldiers," and their line of action to a "warre-fare." After advising the courtier "to get wisdome as his best guide," he observes, "let him not by any meanes omit or neglect the studie of law, languages, and eloquence; and let him especially, bend his best endevours, to attaine unto the prompt, perfect, and most commendable knowledge of histories, and antiquities, to which, indeed I cannot sufficiently move and admonish him: for, this knowledge is the testis of the times, the light of truth, the life of memorie,

the mistresse of life, and the messenger of antiquitie. Yea, this came historical knowledge (if wee may believe Polybius) is a most sound and sure direction, instruction, and preparative, to all well managing of politique affayres, and is, indeed, a singular tutrixe, and faithfull informer, new to abide and suffer patiently the inconstancies, and mutabilities, of brittle and fickle fortune. If therefore (friendly courtier) thou wouldst not continually show thyselfe a childe, an non-proficient, in the court of thy prince, be not (I say) rude, but well read, and a skilfull antiquary in histories and chronicles?" Page 22.

Furthermore the author adds, "I must truly tell thee (kind courtier) this one thing, namely, that the court makes not a man better, but men rather may make the court itselfe better, whereby I would intimate thus much, that tis not enough to live in court, to goe to bed at midnight, to rise the next morning at ten a clocke, and then what with apparelling himselfe, with frizling and curling his haire with his curling pin, with poudring and turning up the same this way and that way, about his eares, continuing thus in his bed-chamber, even till noone at least, and then to spend the rest of the day in feasting, jesting, and many such like toyes and triviall exercises and practises; assuredly I say (and let every courtier beleeve me) that he which is onely occupied and busied in cropping these roses, shall undoubtedly finde then but pricking thornes; on these trees, shall finde nothing but fruitlesse leaves; shall find these vines both wilde and barren; in these garners shall find nothing but chaffe; and finally, in these treasuries, shall be possest of nothing but meere counterfeit mettle. The countier (I. say) swhich adheres, cleaves, and is inclined to these things above mentioned, cannot rightly undertake, excepitate, doe, or begin to doe any thing, much lesse perfectly finish or effect the same; he also which cleares not himselfe of these things, shall finde many defects in himselfe, and such, as that, if hee mend not his manners, will give him just cause to weepe and lament." Page 161.

The author concludes his work with some pious and wholesome exhortations which he desires the courtier "to keepe alwayes in perpetual remembrance, and alwayes beare about him."

1. H. M.

ART. CCLXXXVI. Historiæ Normannorum Scriptores Antiqui, Res ab illis per Galliam, Angliam, Apuliam, Capuæ Principatum, Siciliam, & Orientem gestas explicantes, ab anno Christi DCCCXXXVIII ad annum MCCXX. Insertæ sunt Monasteriorum fundationes variæ, series Episcoporum ac Abbatum: genealogiæ Regum, Duaum, Comitum, et Nobilium; Plurima denique alia petera tam ad profanam quam ad sacram illorum temporum historiam pertinentia. Ex MSS. codd. amnia fere nunc primum edidit Andreas Du Chesne Turonensis. Lutetiæ Parisiorum MDCXIX. Cum privilegio Regis.

ANDREW DU CHESNE, a learned and voluminous collector and publisher of the ancient historians,

particularly of France, was born in Toursine 1584, and crushed to death by a cart as he was passing to Paris from his country house in 1640. The titles of his other works are,

Andre du Chesne Bibliotheque des Autheurs qui ont ecrit l'Histoire et Topographie de la France, 8vo. Paris, 1637. A rare book.

Les Antiquitez & Recherches des villes & chateaux de France, in 8vo. Paris, 1624. Id. in 12mo. Paris, 1668, 2 vol. This ill-written piece has some curious things in it. The edition in twelves is the best.

Historiæ Francorum Scriptores Coætanei abiptius gentis origine ad Philippum Pulchrum, in fol. Paris 1636, 1641, and 1649, 5 vol. This is an excellent and scarce collection. It is a misfortune that Mr. Du Chesne did not pursue his design, which would have made at least twenty-four volumes of original anthors of the History of France. The fifth volume was published by his son.

Les Antiquitez, & Recherches de la Grandeur & Majeste des Roys de France, in 8vo. Paris, 1609. This is a curious and rare book.

Histoire des Rois, Ducs, & Comtes de Bourgogne & d'Arles in 4to. Paris, 1619 and 1628, 2 vol. or in the collection of his works.

Histoire des Papes, in fol. Paris, 1658. This beek, of which this is the best edition, is not much esteemed.

Histoire d'Angleterre, d'Ecosse, & d'Irlande, in fol. Paris, 1634.—In fol. Paris, 1666, 2 vol.

Histoire Genealogique des Rois, Ducs, Comtes de

Bourgegne & d'Arles, extraites de diverses Chartes & Chroniques anciennes, in 4to, Paris, 1619.

Histoire Genealogique des Ducs de Bourgogne, de la Maison de France, des Dauphins de Viennois, & des Comtes de Valentinois, justifiée par preuves autentiques, 4to. Paris, 1628. These two volumes of Mr. Du Chesne are rare and much sought for.

Histoire Genealogique de la Muison de Dreux, in fol. Paris, 1632—De Moutmorenci & de Laval, in fol. Paris, 1624—De Chastillon, in fol. 1621—De Bethune, in fol. Paris, 1639.—Des Chasteigniers, in fol. Paris, 1634—De Guines & Ordes, in fol. Paris, 1631.—Du Vergy, in fol. Paris, 1625.*

Du Fresnoy observes that "long since it was said of Andrew Duchesne, that he succeeded well in particular histories, but, that he has ever halted, and even forced his genius in the general histories he has printed. That of England is worse than any of .his others. It cannot be termed a history, but facts loosely tacked to each other. He writes in a languid stile, enters shallowly into affairs, as if he was unacquainted with the art of knowing men, and has nothing but a bare relation of their actions, which, without doubt, proceeds from the little pains he had taken to study human passions. He had applied himself to nothing but searching libraries, or archives of princes, and churches, which afford a light for particular history; and in this it must be acknowledged he succeeded well."+

^{*} All these titles are taken from Du Fresnoy's Method of studying History, by Rawlinson, in 2 vol. 8vo. London, 1730.

⁺ Ibid. I. 160.

With regard to the "Scriptores Normannici," of which the full title is given at the head of this article, Dufresnoy observes that "he who would consider the beginnings of that nation may see what Duchesne has collected in that work."

I have not here room or leisure to enter very particularly into the contents of this bulky volume, of which the preface gives a minute account. The first article, by an anonymous writer, comprehends a space of fifty-nine years from the first irruption of the Normans from the North in 837 to the settlement of Rollo in Normandy in 896.

The fifth article is a poem in hexameters in two books on the siege of Paris by the Normans. It begins at page 37, and ends at page 48. Then follows Dudo Dean of St. Quintin's panegyric on the manners and acts of the first Dukes of Normandy, which ends at page 160.

The next article is the "Emmæ Encomium," republished as above mentioned, by Baron Maseres, and this is succeeded by the work of William of Poictiers, which extends to page 213, and forms the principal part of Maseres's new edition.

Next follow "Willelmi Calculi Gemmeticensis Monachi, Historiæ Normannorum Libri VIII. which end at page 318, and which are also printed in Camden's collection of ancient historians of England.*

At page 319 commences "Orderici Vitalis Angligenæ, Cænobii Uticensis Monachi, Historiæ Ecclesiasticæ Libri XIII. in iii. partes divisi, quarum pos-

VOL. IV.

^{*} Entitled, "Anglica, Normannica, Hibernica, Cambrica, a veteribus scripta." In fol. Frankfort, 1603.

tremæ duæ res per Normannos in Francia, Anglia, Sicilia, Apulia, Calabria, Palastina, pie strenneque gestas, ab adventu Rollonis usque ad annum Christi MOXXIV complectuntur. This forms by far the largest article in the work, and extends to page 925.

Ordericus Vitalis was born in England in 1075, the son of Odelinus, chief counselfor of Roger de Mentgomery Earl of Shrewsbury. At five years old he was sent to school at Shrewsbury, and at ten was sent over to Normandy to the monastery of St. Eurole's (Utici), and in his eleventh year became a member of the order of that society; where he had already passed fifty-six years, when he wrote this account of himself, complaining that he then was loaded with age and infirmities, and that it was time for him to lay down his pen. In his thirty-third year he says he entered into the priesthood.

Nicholson in his Historical Library seems too severe upon this historian. "The most of his thirteen books," says this writer, "are spent in the affairs of the church within his own native * country: but towards the latter end, he has intermixed a great many passages that relate to us. There are in his writings two faults, (and they are great ones) which Lucian of old condemned in history: for, first, he is immoderate in the praise of his friends, and the dispraise of his enemies; either all panegyric, or all satire. Now such discourses are rightly observed to be strangely monstrous and unnatural productions: they want metre to become poems, and truth to make them just histories; secondly, he is too large

^{*}This appears a mistake, if he means Normandy, for the historian's native country was England.

in the description of little petit matters; and on the contrary passes too cursorily over some things of such weight as would well endure reflection and a second thought."

We shall presently see that Mr. Maseres estimates this historian much more highly: and it may be remarked that he has preserved many curious and interesting particulars of the birth and actions of our first Norman nobility, of which Dugdale experienced the advantage in the compilation of his Baronage. And I concur most heartily with the learned Editor next mentioned in wishing to see a new edition of the remaining books of this author, more especially if they can be illustrated by such entertaining and useful notes as that industrious and accomplished critic has subjoined to the portion he has reprinted.*

Of the remaining contents of this volume of Du Chesne, which contains eleven hundred and four closely printed pages, besides a full index, the principal are reprinted in the book of Maseres; but there is an useful article of genealogical tables at the end, entitled "Familiæ Regum, Ducum, Comitum, et aliorum Nobilium quæ in hoc volumine deducuntur.";

ART. CCLXXXVII. Emmæ Anglorum Reginæ, Richardi I. Ducis Normannorum filiæ, Encomium. Incerto Auctore, sed coætaneo. Item Gesta Guil-

^{*} See also Gibbon's Address on the proposed republication of our old historians, in his "Miscellaneous Works," by Lord Sheffield, Fol. II. p. 707.

[†] In some future Number I propose to insert a disquisition on the Roll of Battle-Abbey, printed by Du Chesné.

lelmi II. Ducis Normannorum, Regis Anglorum I. A Guillelmo Pictavensi, Lexovierum Archidiacono, contemporaneo, scripta. Ex Bibliotheca nobilissimi Viri Roberti Cottoni, Equitis Aurati et Baronetti, primum edita Lutetia Parisiorum. Anno Domini 1619, a doctissimo viro Andrea Duchesne, Turonensi: nunc denuo edita Londini, Anno Domini 1783. To these are added, Excerpta ex Orderici Vitalis, Uticensis Monachi, Ecclesiasticæ historiæ libris tertio & quarto: quorum ope suppleri quodammodo possint defectus in manuscripto codice Cottoniano supra memorato Historia Gulielmi Ducis Normannorum et Regis Anglorum, A Guillelmo Pictavensi, scriptæ.-Also, Annalis Historia Brevis in Monasterio Sancti Stephani Cadomensis conscripta.—And at the end are—Excerpta quædam ex Appendice doctissimi viri Andreæ Du Chesne ad rerum Normannicarum scriptores, vis. 1. Nomina Normannorum, qui floruerunt in Anglia ante Conquestum. 2. Cognomina Nobilium, qui Guill. Norm. Ducem in Angliam secuti sunt. 3. Cognomina eorum qui cum Guilielmo Conquæstore Angliam ingressi sunt. 4. Magnates superstites Anno XX. Regni Willelmi Conquæstoris; & quibus in comitatibus terras tenuerunt. 5. Catalogus Nobilium, qui immediate prædia a Rege Conquæstore tenuerunt. London, for B. White, Fleet-street, 1783. 4to. pp. 380.

This book was printed, I believe, for private distribution only, with that disinterested love of literature, which through a long life has adorned and dignified the various and profound studies of Baron Maseres. The text is selected from the numerous pages of Duchesne's Scriptores Normanni, and illustrated with very ample and curious English notes, and marginal abstracts of the contents, by the present Editor.

The principal article here selected is the History of William the Conqueror by William of Poictiers. Archdeacon of Lisieux in Normandy. This author, who had been first a soldier himself, and afterwards. the Conqueror's chaplain, relates actions which he saw with his own eyes, and in which he was himself engaged; but he did not continue his history beyond the year 1070, which was the fourth of that king's reign in England; and unluckily even of this the latter part is lost, and what remains scarce extends beyond the battle of Hastings. " Perhaps," says Mr. Maseres, "the deficient part exists in some old manuscript, that has not been attended to by the learned, in the library of some old monastery of France or Normandy. And, if it does exist, it is a pity it should not be produced; as it is probable that it contains a more exact account of the events of the four first years of the Conqueror's reign than is elsewhere to be found."

Mr. Maseres, having observed that Ordericus Vitalis, in his account of the first part of the Conqueror's reign, took most of his facts from William of Poictiers, only relating them with more brevity, has therefore added from Ordericus the history of that period, of which the relation by Poictiers is lost.

"Thus much therefore of this fourth book of Ordericus Vitalis," says the learned Editor, " is all that is necessary to supply the loss of the latter part of the manuscript of that curious history. But as

the remaining part of this Fourth book of Orderious's work contains many important particulars concerning the Conqueror's government of England after he had completed the conquest of it, I shall here present the reader with a new edition of it. The following books of our author's history (the whole of which is divided into thirteen books) are likewise full of interesting matter, and very fit to be republished with marginal abstracts of the contents, and with explanatory notes, in the same manner as this Fourth Book, in order to render them inviting and agreeable to the lovers of English history. But this would be an expensive and tedious work, which it will not be convenient to me to undertake. however, that some other gentlemen, that are fond of these researches into our ancient history, may be hereby induced to complete this new edition of our author, or at least to carry it on to the end of the Seventh Book, or the death of William the Conqueror. For I believe there is no other book extant that gives so full and authentic an account of the transactions of that important reign. If one gentleman would republish in this manner the remaining part of the reign of William the Conqueror, and another would give us the reign of William Rufus, and a third those of Henry the First and King Stephen, to the year 1141, (with which the History concludes), the labour and expense, being thus divided, would not be very great, and the work would, I presume, be thought a matter of great accommodation and real benefit by all curious enquirers into the ancient history of England."

ART. CCLXXXVIII. Jehovah Jireh. God in the Mount; or, England's Parliamentary Chronicle. Containing a most exact narration of all the most material Proceedings of this renowned and unparalell'd Parliament: the armies which have been or are in the severall parts of this land; the manner of the battails and sieges of Kenton, Brainford, Stafford, Litchfield, Cheshire, Lancashire, Yorkshire, Lincolnshire, Lin, Gloucester, Newbury, and of those other places in England where any have been, from the yeare 1641 to this present moneth of October 1643, concluding with the late Covenant of Great Brituin and Ireland. Collected and published, principally for the high honour of our wonder-working God, still more graciously and gloriously carrying on the great work of a pure reformation in Church and State; as also for the great encouragement of all that are realous for God and lovers of their country. By the most unworthy admirer thereof, JOHN VICARS.

Happie art thou, O Israel, who is like unto thee! O people saved by the Lord, the shield of thy help, and who is the sword of thy excellencie: and thine enemies shall be found lyers unto thee: and thou shalt tread upon their high places. Deut. iii. St

The works of the Lord are great, and sought out of all them that have pleasure therein. His works are honourable and glorious, and his righteousness endureth for ever. Psalm iii. 2, 3.

The Lord hath so done all his marocilous works, that they ought to be had in everlasting remembrance.

Psalm. iii. 4.

It is ordered by the Committee of the House of Com-

mons in Parliament, concerning Printing, that this book intituled, God on the Mount, or, A Parliamentarie Chronicle, be printed by Jo. Rothwell and Tho. Underhill, Jo. White.

London: printed by T. Paine and M. Simmons, for J. Rothwell and T. Underhill. 1644. pp. 434, besides index, and dedications, &c.

THE first part of this work ends at page 87, and the second part begins at page 89, with the title "God in the Mount; or, A Continuation of England's Parliamentary Chronicle."

God's Arke overtopping the world's waves; or, the third part of the Parliamentary Chronicle. taining a successive continuation and exact and faithfull narration of all the most materiall Parliamentary Proceedings and memorable mercies wherewith God hath crowned this famous present Parliament, and their armies in all the severall parts of the land; the famous sieges, defeats, battails, victories and prizes obtained and taken by land and sea; the appeasing of the Kentish Rebellion; Hull's admirable preservation; the famous victories at Horn-castle, Aulton, Alsford, Selby, and Arundell Castle; Discoveries of many desperate plots and designes against the Parliament; the establishing of a new Great Seal of England; the advance and actions of our Brethren the Scots among us; . the most renowned siege and deliverance of Plymouth and Lyme: together with all the famous performances of all our armies in the West and North of the kingdome, from July 1643 to July 1644: and concluding with a most exact, full, and faithfull relation of the most famous victory at Marston Moor, near York. Collected and published for God's high honour and the great encouragement of all that are sealous for God and lovers of their country. By the most unworthy admirer of them, JOHN VICARS.

What nation is there so great, who hath God so nigh unto it, as the Lord our God is in all things that we have called upon him for? Only therefore take heed to thyselfe, and keep thy soul diligently, lest thou forget the things, which thine eyes have seen, and lest they depart from thy heart, all the dayes of thy life: But teach them to thy sons and thy sons' sons. Deut. iv. 7, 9.

London: printed by M. Simons and J. Macock, 1646. 4to. pp. 304, besides Tables and Dedications.

The Burning Bush not consumed; or, the Fourth and last part of the Parliamentarie Chronicle. Containing a full and faithfull continuation and exact narration of all the most materiall and most memorable proceedings of this renowned Parliament. The armies and Forces, which are or have been in the severall parts of the kingdome; the description of all the brave battails, victories, and famous defeates given to the enemies, both by sea and land; especially the winning of Newcastle, the glorious victory at Nazeby, and that famous victory at Langport, won through fire and water; together with all the other admirable successes of our most renowned and victorious Generale Sir Thomas Fairfax, with his despised new-modelled army in the West, even to admiration: and the happy rendition of Oxford, and the rest of the strong garrisons about it. Beginning from August 1644, and comming up to this present moneth of July 1646. Collected for God's high hanour, and all pious Parliamentarians' comfort: By the most unworthic admirer of them, JOHN VICARS.

Isaiah lxiii. 7. I will mention the loving kindnesse of the Lord, and the high praises of our God, according to all the rich mercies which the Lord hath bestowed upon us; and his great goodnesse towards us (his English Israel) which hee hath conferred on us, according to his great mercies, and according to the multitudes of his loving kindnesses. The Third, and this Fourth Part, being printed at the sole and entire cost and charge of the authour himself.

Imprinted at London by R. C. and M. B. for M. Spark, at the Bible in Green Arbor, J. Rothwell, at the Sun in P. Churchyard, and T. Underhill, at the Bible in Wood-str. 1646. 4to. pp. 476, besides tables and dedications.

And at the end of this Fourth Part, is "A Colossus of Eternall-bounden Gratitude; or, a Panegyricall Pyramides of perpetuall Praise. First erected by our Britain's ingenious and ingenuous Mercurie: And now re-erected by the unworthy authour of this Parliamentary Chronicle, with some plain and homely inlaid work of his own in some convenient places." pp. 14.

THE First Part of this curious and very scarce medley of facts and furious party venom is dedicated lst to the Lords and Commons, and 2dly to "Isaac Pennington, Lord Mayor"—" Sir John Wolaston, Lord Mayor Elect"—" Sir Richard Sprignall, and Alderman Warner," and their wives.

The Third Part is dedicated to Alderman Adams, Lord Mayor—Sir John Wollaston, and Sir Richard Sprignall, and their ladies.

The Fourth Part is dedicated to Thomas Adams, Esq. Lord Mayor—Sir Matthew Brand, Kt. High Sheriff of Surry; and Sir Richard Sprignall, Kt.—To Lady Francesse Brand, Lady Anne Sprignall, the Lady Rebeccah Wollastone, Mistris Mary Grimstone, all of them, his pious and most precious friends.

It is difficult to select any thing from such multifarious contents. But as a short thing of the most general interest I shall transcribe the list, (though imperfect) by Vicars, of those who fell on both sides.

"Psalme lviii. 10, 11.

"The righteous shall rejoice when he seeth God's vengeance on the wicked, and shall wash his feet in their blood; so that a man shall say, verily there is a God that judgeth the earth.

" The Slaine on the King's side.

- The Earl of Lyndsey, the Lord Generall of the King's army that appeared in the field at first against the Parliament.
- 2. The Lord George Stuart, being Lord of Aubignie in France.
- 3. The Lord John Stuart.
- 4. The Lord Bernhard Stuart. All these three brave young Lords being of the bloud royall, and all three brothers to the Duke of Lenox.

- 5. The Earle of Northampton.
- 6. The Earle of Denbigh.
- 7. The Earle of Carnarvan.
- 8. The Earle of Sunderland.
- 9. The Earle of Kingstone.
- 10. The Earle of Strafford beheaded for treason on the Tower-hill.
- 11. The Lord Grandison.
- 12. The Lord Faulkland.
- 13. The Lord Carey, son to the Earle of Monmouth.
- 14. The Lord Ashton.
- 15. The Marquesse of Viville, a French Lord.
- The Arch-Prelate of Canterbury beheaded for treason on Tower-Hill.
- 17. General Cavendish.
- 18. General Mynne.
- 19. Sir Edward Varney.
- 20. Sir John Harper.
- 21. Sir Bevill Greenvill, son to the Marquesse of Hartfort.
- 22. Sir George Bowles.
- 23. Sir William Wentworth, brother to the Earl of Strafford.
- 24. Sir Francis Dacres, neare Kinsman to the Lord Dacres.
- 25. Sir William Lambton.
- 26. Sir Marmaduke Loudson.
- 27. Sir Thomas Metton.
- 28. Monsieur Saint Paul, a French Gentleman.
- 29. Sir Richard Goodhill.
- Sir Alexander Carew, beheaded for treason on the Tower-Hill.

- 31. Sir John Hotham, beheaded also for treason on the Tower-Hill.
- 32. Sir Henry Gage.
- 33. Sir William Crofts.
- 34. Sir Thomas Nott.
- 35. Sir Owen.
- 36. Sir Brian Stapleton.
- 37. Sir Francis Carnabie.
- 38. Sir Richard Hutton.
- 39. Col. Monroe.
- 40. Col. Wane.
- 41. Col. Ewers, nephew to the Lord Ewers.
- 42. Col. Roper, brother to the Lord Baltinglasse.
- 43. Col. Slingsby, son to Sir William Slingsby.
- 44. Col. Fenwick, eldest son to Sir John Fenwick.
- 45. Col. Prideaux.
- 46. Col. Atkins.
- 47. Col. Marrow.
- 48. Col. Baynes.
- 49. Col. Conyers.
- 50. Generall Goring's brother.
- 51. Col. Houghton, son to Sir Gilb. Houghton.
- 52. Generall Goring's Quarter-Master-Gen. of Horse.
- 53. Gen. Goring's Quarter-Master of Foot.
- 54. Col. Phillips.
- 55. Lieut.-Col. Ward.
- 56. Lieut.-Col. Howard.
- 57. Lieut.-Col. Bowles.
- 58. Lieut.-Col. Lisle.
- 59. Lieut.-Col. Stonywood.
- 60. Serjt.-Major Beaumont.
- 61. Serit.-Maj. Purvey.

- 62. Serjt. Maj.-Smith.
- 63. Serjt.-Maj. Lower.
- 64. Serjt.-Maj. Wells.
- 65. The Mayor of Preston, Mr. Adams.
- 66. Major Heskith.
- 67. Major Trevillian.
- 68. Major Hatton Farmar.
- 69. Major Pilkington.
- 70. Major Duet.
- 71. Major Heynes.
- 72. Major Pollard.
- 73. Captain Wray.
- 74. Capt. Bins.
- 75. Captain Houghton.
- 76. Captain Hotham, beheaded on Tower-Hill.
- 77. Captain Baggot.
- 78. Captain James.
- 79. Captain Cornisham.
- 80. Captain Plunket.
 - 81. The King's Standard-bearer at that fight where and when the Earle of Northampton was slaine.
 - 82. Sir John Smith, brother to the Lord Carrington.
 - 83. Dr. Weston, a Phisitian.
 - 84. An Earl, or such like eminent personage found slaine in the field at Nasebie fight, with a star and a red crosse upon his coat, but his name or title not known.
 - 85. Major Threave.
 - 86. Capt. Fry.
 - 87. Col. Billingsly.
 - 88. Captain Cottingham.
 - 89. Major Caft.

- 90. Six Priests slain in Bazing house.
- 91. Lieut.-Col. Gardiner.

The most eminent persons slaine on the Parliament's party, since the beginning of these unhappie warres.

- J. The Lord St. John.
- 2. The Lord Brooke.
- 3. Sir William Fairfax, brother to the most noble and renowned Lord Fairfax.
- 4. Sir John Meldrum.
- 5. Major-Gen. Charles Fairfax, sonne to the aforesaid noble Lord Fairfax, and brother to our present most renowned Generall Sir Thomas Fairfax, slaine at Marstone-Moore fight.
- 6. Col. Essex.
- 7. Col. Hampden.
- 8. Col. Tucker.
- 9. Lieut.-Col. Ramsey.
- 10. Serjt.-Major Quarles.
- 11. Major Stawham, a brave Scottish Gent,
- 12. Major Fitz-Simons.
- 13. Major Bradbury.
- 14. Major Jackson.
- 15. Capt. Lacie.
- 16. Capt. Lister.
- 17. Capt. Nuttie.
- 18. Capt. Massie.
- 19. Capt. Hunt.
- 20. Capt. Oglesby.
- 21. Capt. Williams.

- 22. Captain Pue.
- 23. Master Hugh Popham.
- 24. Major Haynes.
- 25. Capt. Dove.
- 26. Lieut.-Col. Ingoldsby.
- 27. Cap. Allen.
- 28. Maj. Francis Sydenham.
- 29. Col. John Gunter."

In Part III. p. 17, is a copy of "An Ordinance of the Lords and Commons assembled in Parliament, touching the rebellion in Kent, dated "Die Mercurii, August 16, 1643," in which "Sir Henry Vane senior, Sir John Sidley, Sir Anthony Welden, Sir Michael Levesey, Sir Henry Heyman, Mr. Nut, Mr. Augustine Skinner, Mr. Thomas Blunt, Mr. Thomas Franklin, Sir Edward Boyse, Mr. Brown, Sir William Springate, Sir Edward Master, Mr. John Boys, Mr. John Boyse, Sir Peter Wroth, Mr. Richard Lee, Sir Thomas Walsingham, Mr. Thomas Selyard, and Sir John Robarts, or any three of them, are appointed to seize upon the arms and horses of the loyalist insurgents."

But it is not yet possible to detail in this work the various contents of these volumes.

ART. CCLXXXIX. An Historical Discourse of the Uniformity of the Government of England. The First Part. From the first times till the reigne of Edward the Third. London. Printed for Matthew Walbanke at Grayes Inne Gate, 1647. 4to. pp. 322, besides preliminaries and Table, and an engraved frontispiece by Marshall. Dedicated

to Edward Earl of Manchester, Speaker of the House of Peers; and William Lenthall, Speaker of the House of Commons.

This is the first edition of the celebrated treatise by NATHANIEL BACON, of which the memory has been lately revived by the praises of Lord Chatham in the Letters published by Lord Grenville, (Lond. 1804, duod.) who has also honoured the nearly obsolete author with this notice.

Some time ago the present writer communicated some curious memoranda of Oldys regarding Bacon to the Gentleman's Magazine, Vol. LXXIV. p. 807, to which he refers his readers.

Lord Chatham's words are as follow:

"I also recommend Nathaniel Bacon's Historical and Political Observations; it is, without exception, the best and most instructive book we have on matters of that kind. They are both to be read with much attention, and twice over; Oldcastle's remarks to be studied and almost got by heart for the inimitable beauty of the style, as well as the matter; Bacon for the matter chiefly; the style being uncouth, but the expression forcible and striking."

Lord Grenville adds in a note, "This book, though at present little known, formerly enjoyed a very high reputation. It is written with a very different bias to the principles of the Parliamentary party, to which Bacon adhered; but contains a great deal of very useful and valuable matter. It was published in two parts, the first in 1647, the second in 1651, and was secretly reprinted in 1672,

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and again in 1682; for which edition the publisher was indicted and outlawed. After the revolution a fourth edition was printed with an advertisement, asserting, on the authority of Lord Chief Justice Vaughan, one of Selden's executors, that the groundwork of this book was laid by that great and learned man. And it is probably on the ground of this assertion, that in the folio edition of Bacon's book, printed in 1739, it is said in the title page to have been "collected from some manuscript notes of John Selden Esq." But it does not appear that this notion rests on any sufficient evidence. It is, however, manifest from some expressions in the very unjust and disparaging account given of this work in Nicholson's Historical library, (Part I. p. 150) that Nathaniel Bacon was generally considered as an imitator and follower of Selden." Ld. Chatham's Letters, p. 55.

AGAIN, 1651, 8vo. "dedicated to Lady Elizabeth Sedley, to which is added 1. The Court of King Charles, continued unto these unhappy times. 2. Observations, instead of a character upon this King from his childhood. 3. Certain Observations before Q. Elizabeth's death."

ART. CCXC. The Court and Character of King James, written and taken by Sir A. W. being an eye and eare witnesse. Qui nescit dissimulare, nescit regnare. Published by authority. London. Printed by R. J. and are to be sold at the King's Head in the Old Baily 1650. Duod. pp. 197.

Ann. CCXC1. Aulicus Coquinariæ, or a Vindication in answer to Sir Anthony Weldon's Pamphlet, called "The Court and Character of King James," &c. London. 1650. 800.

This is attributed to William Sanderson. For a full account of Weldon and Sanderson, and these two volumes, see "Memoirs of King James's Peers," * p. 106, &c.

Francis Osborn was born in 1558. He was descended from the Osborns of Chicksand in Bedfordshire, now represented by General Sir George Osborn, Bart. On the breaking out of the civil wars he sided with the Parliament. He died Feb. 11, 1659, aged about 70.†

ART. COXCII. Historical Memoires of the reigns of Queen Elizabeth and King James. By Francis Osborn, Esq. 1658. 8vo.

Also in his works, of which the seventh edition appeared in 1673, 8vo.

Charles I. Containing the most remarkable occurrences of that reign, and setting many secret massages thereof in a clear light. With impartial characters of many great persons on both sides, who chiefly governed the counsels and actions of that scene of affairs. Together with a continuation to the happy Restauration of King Charles II. By

^{*} Lond. 1802, 8vo.

[†] Biog. Dict. XI. 348.

Sir Philip Warwick, Knight. Published from the Original Manuscript with an Alphabetical Table. The Third Edition. London. Printed for Ri. Chiswell, and sold by John Pero, at the White Swan in Little Brittain. 1703. 800. pp. 437.

ART. CCXCIV. Memoirs of the two last years of the reign of that unparallelled prince, of ever blessed memory, King Charles I. By Sir Thomas Herbert, Major Huntington, Col. Edward Coke, and Mr. Henry Firebrace. With the character of that blessed Martyr. By the Reverend Mr. John Diodati, Mr. Alexander Henderson, and the author of the Princely Pelican. To which is added, The death-bed Repentance of Mr. Lenthal, Speaker of the Long Parliament; extracted out of a letter written from Oxford, Sept. 1663. London. Printed for Robert Clavell, at the Peacock at the west end of St. Paul's. 1702. 8vo. pp. 303.

Sin Philip Warwick, whose portrait by R. White is prefixed to these Memoirs, was son of Thomas Warwick, organist of St. Peter's Westminster; and was educated at Eton School, and afterwards at Geneva, under the celebrated Diodati. He was afterwards Secretary to the Earl of Southampton in the office of the Treasury: he died 15 Jan. 1682. His Memoirs being eminent for their candour and integrity, retain their reputation.

^{*} Granger, IV. 66. See an original Memoir of Sir Philip, with a portrait, in Gent. Mag. Vol. LX. p. 781, copied into Biogr. Dict. Vol. XV. p. 216.

Before this volume is the following address

"To the Reader.

"These Memoirs were written by a gentleman of great integrity and wisdom, who by means of his stations and employments under King Charles the first, of blessed memory, and near attendance on his person, had great opportunities of knowing the most considerable occurrences of those times, with the secret springs by which they moved: as also the characters of the persons that were most concerned and active in them.

"And as the vindicating of the cause and actions of his Royal Master and his friends, and to do right truth, were the great inducements to his writing these remarks: so to rectify mistakes, and rescue the memory of that injured Prince from the false imputations and indignities, that have been cast upon him by prejudiced and malicious men, is the cause of this publication.

"More is not needful to be said, than to assure the world, that these Papers are genuine, and published from the author's original manuscripts, by a faithful friend, with whom they were intrusted. Except I may have leave to add that, as the author wrote with freedom according to his genius and principles, so 'tis hoped he will be read with candour and just allowance by all gentlemen of what sentiments soever."

The book was edited by Dr. Thomas Smith, the learned writer concerning the Greek church. It first appeared in 1701.

Sir Thomas Herbert, Bart. was son of Christopher Herbert, son of Thomas Herbert, Alderman of York, descended by a younger son from Sir Thomas Herbert of Colebrooke, in Monmouthshire, Kt. He was born in Yorkshire, entered of Jesus College, Oxford, 1621, thence taken under the patronage of his relation William Earl of Pembroke. Hence he was sent to travel in Asia, and Africa; and, on his return, published "A relation of some years' Travels into Africa and the greater Asia, especially the territories of the Persian Monarchy and some parts of the Oriental Indies and isles adjacent. Lond. 1634, 1638, &c. 1677," Fol. which is the fourth impression, wherein many things are added, not in the former.* In the Rebellion he adhered to the cause of the Parliament: and when the Parliament Commissioners in 1647 removed the King's own servants from about his person at Holdenby, Mr. Thomas Herbert was with Mr. James Harrington received as Groom of his Majesty's Bedchamber. In that employment he continued to serve, with great fidelity and affection, till his royal master was, to the horror of all the world, brought to the block.

Mr. Herbert was created a Baronet 3 July 1660, and died 1 March 1681, aged 76. He married 1st Lucia daughter of Sir Walter Alexander, by whom he had Sir Henry, his successor, and other children. His second wife was Elizabeth daughter of Sir Gervase Cutler of Stainborough, in Yorkshire, Kt. †

^{*} Wood's Ath. II. 691.

[†] See Wood's Ath. IL 690, where are long extracts from his letters

These Memoirs contain the following passages in the Advertisement to the reader.

"There having been of late years several Memoirs printed and published relating to the lives and actions of the Royal Martyr, King Charles I. of ever blessed memory; it was judged a proper and seasonable time to publish Sir Thomas Herbert's Carolina Threnodia under the title of his Memoirs; there being contained in this book the most material passages of the two last years of the life of that excellent and unparallelled Prince, which were carefully observed and related by the author in a large answer of a letter wrote to him by Sir William Dugdale. In the same book is printed Major Huntington's Relation made to Sir William of sundry particulars relating to the King; as also Col. Edward Coke's and Mr. Henry Firebrace's Narratives of several memorable passages observed by them during their attendance on him at Newport in the Isle of Wight, Ann. 48. All these were copied from a Manuscript of the Right Reverend, the Bishop of Ely, lately deceased; and, as I am credibly informed, a copy of the several originals is now to be seen amongst the Dugdale Manuscripts in Oxford Library.

"To these Memoirs are added two or three small tracts, which give some account of the affairs of those times; of the character of King Charles I. and of his just claim and title to his "divine Meditations." These having been printed An. 46, 48,

regarding the last years of Ch. I. nearly, if not quite, in the same words as were afterwards published in the Memoirs. See also an abridged Memoir of Herbert, Biogr. Dict. VIII. 58.

49, and very scarce and difficult to procure, were thought fit to be reprinted for public service.

"As to the letter, which gives an account of Mr. Lenthal's carriage and behaviour on his death-bed, it was twice printed An. 62, and the truth of it attested by the learned Dr. Dickenson, now living in St. Martin's Lane," &c.

Herbert's Memoirs end at p. 150, then begins "The Relation which Major Huntington made to me Sir William Dugdale, Knight, Garter Principal King of Arms, in the month of June, Anno 1679, of sundry particulars relating to King Charles I. of blessed memory. This ends at p. 163.

Then follows "A Narrative made by Mr. Edward Cooke of Highnam, in the County of Gloucester, who was Colonel of a Regiment under Oliver Cromwell then called Protector, containing certain passages relating to our late Sovereign King Charles I. of blessed memory, which happened at Newport in the Isle of Wight, upon the 29th of Nov. Anno 1648.

At p. 185 begins "The copy of a Letter to Sir George Lane, Knight, Secretary to the Duke of Ormond, written by Mr. Thomas Firebrace, Clerk of the Kitchen to his Majesty King Charles II. containing a narrative of certain particulars relating to his Majesty King Charles I. during the time that he attended on his Majesty at Newport, in the Isle of Wight, Anno 1648, which letter beareth date at Whitehall, July 21, 1675.

- Next is at p. 201, "An Answer sent to the Ecclesiastical Assembly at London, by the reverend, noble, and learned man, John Deodate; the famous professor of Divinity, and most vigilant pastor of Geneva. Translated out of Latin into English." First printed at Geneva 1646.
- Then at p. 223, "The Declaration of Mr. Alexander Henderson, principal Minister of the Word of God at Edinburgh, and Chief Commissioner from the Kirk of Scotland to the Parliament and Synod of England, made upon his death-bed." First printed 1648.
- At p. 241 is "The Princely Pelican. Royal Resolves presented in sundry choice observations extracted from his Majesty's Divine Meditations. With satisfactory reasons to the whole kingdom, that his sacred person was the only author of them." First printed 1649.
- Lastly, at p. 300, " Speaker Lenthal, his Deathbed repentance."
- ART. CCXCV. A Detection of the Court and State of England during the reigns of K. James I. Charles I. Charles II. and James II. as also the Inter-regnum. Consisting of private Memoirs, &c. with observations and reflections. Wherein are many secrets never before made public: as also a more impartial account of the Civil Wars in England, than has yet been given. By Roger Coke, Esq. The fourth edition, continued through the reigns of King William and Queen Mary, and to the death of Queen Anne. In three volumes.

London. Printed for J. Bratherton and W. Meadows, at the Black Bull in Cornhill. 1719. 800. First printed in 2 vols. 1697.

ART. CCXCVI. Memoirs of the most material Transactions in England for the last Hundred years preceding the Revolution in 1688. By James Welwood, M. D. Fellow of the Colledge of Physicians, London.—London. 1700. 8vo.

The Secret History of White-ART. CCXCVII. hall, from the Restoration of Charles II. down to the abdication of the late K. James. Writ at the request of a noble Lord, and conveyed to him in letters, by ---- late Secretary-Interpreter to the Marquess of Louvois, who by that means had the perusal of all the private minutes between England and France for many years. The whole consisting of Secret Memoirs, which have hitherto lain concealed, as not being discoverable by any other hand. Publish'd from the original papers. By D. Jones, Gent. London. Printed and are to be sold by R. Baldwin, near the Oxford Arms Inn in Warwick Lane, 1697. 8vo. 2 vols. in one, pp. 144 and 110.

James Welwood, M.D. was born at Edinburgh 1652, and educated at Glasgow; after which he spent some years at Leyden in the study of physic, and came over with King William at the Revolution. He then settled at Edinburgh, being appointed one of the King's Physicians for Scotland. He died 1716. He was strongly attached to republican principles, as sufficiently appears in his Memoirs, which

are otherwise well written.* Roger Coke was grandson of Lord Chief Justice Sir Edward Coke, by his fourth son. He had his education at Cambridge, became well versed in several parts of learning, and wrote a Treatise against Hobbe's Levinthan. He afterwards engaged in commerce, but excelled more in the theory than the practice; for he fell into distresses; and retained little more for his support than an annuity of an hundred pounds a year paid out of the family estate; so that he lived for some years within the rules of the Fleet, and died single about the 77th year of his age.†

It has been remarked, that Coke's and Daniel Jones's volumes contain "a sort of secret history, engaging to an Englishman, naturally inquisitive, curious, and greedy of scandal."

ART. CCXCVIII. The Compleat History of Independency. Upon the Parliament begun 1640. By Clem. Walker, Esq. Continued till this present year 1660; which fourth part was never before published. Horat. Spe Metuque procul. London. Printed for Henry Brome at the Gun in Ivy Lane, 1661. 4to.§

This curious volume consists of four parts, which were originally published at different periods, and has a print, by way of frontispiece, well known to collectors, and much valued by them, representing

^{*} Biogr. Dict. XV. 233.

[†] Apology to the Reader before the 4th Edit. of his Detection.

† Du Fresnoy's Method of studying History, by Rawlinson, II. 476.

§ Kennet's Register says ** Sould by Richard Lounds, 1660.

"The Royall Oake of Brittayne" submitting to the axes of the rebels, and the portrait of Cromwell, encouraging them, in the corner, standing upon a globe, on which are the words "Locus lubricus;" and under it "Inspiratio diabolica," &c. &c.

Part I. consists of pp. 174; then follows "An Ap"pendix to the History of Independency, being a
brief description of some few of Argyle's proceedings, before and since he joined in canfederacy with
the Independent Junto in England: with a Parallel
betwixt him and Cromwell, and a Caveat to all his
seduced Aherents. London. Printed for R. Royston, at the Angel in Ivie Lane." 1661. pp. 18.

The title of the Second Part is "Anarchia Anglicana: or the History of Independency. The Second Part. Being a Continuation of relations and observations historical and politick upon this present Parliament begun Anno 16 Caroli Primi. By Theodorus Verax. London. Printed for R. Royston," &c. as before, pp. 262.

The Third Part is entitled "The High Court of Justice, or Cromwel's New Slaughter-house in England, with the authority that constituted and ordained it, arrained, convicted, and condemned, for usurpation, treason, tyranny, theft, and murder. Being the Third Part of the History of Independency, written by the same author. London," &c. as before, pp. 58.

The Fourth Part is entitled "The History of Independency. The fourth and last part. Continued from the death of his late Majesty King Charls the first of happy memory, till the deathe of the chief of

that Juncto. By T. M. Esquire, a lover of his King and Country. London. Printed for H. Brome at the Gun in Ivie Lane; and H. Marsh at the Prince's Arms in Chancery Lane. 1660." pp. 124.

Before the Second Part is the following address to the Reader.

"Reader, having spoken to thee in the First Part. I might have forborn thee in this Second, did I not fear to seem guilty of the sullenness and malignity of these times. The subject matter of my book is a combination or Faction of Pseudo-Politicians. and Pseudo-Theologicians, Hereticks, and Schismatics, both in divinity and policy, who having sacrificed to their fancies, lusts, ambitions, and avarice. both their God and religion, their king and country. our laws, liberties, and properties, all duties, divine and human, are grown so far in love with their prosperous sins, as to entitle God himself to be the father and author of them: from whose written word and revealed will, held forth to us in the scriptures as the only north-pole and cynosure of our actions, where they find no warrant for their doing, they appeal to the secret will and providence of God, to which they most Turkishly and Heathenishly ascribe all their enormities, only because they succeed: and from that abyss of God's providence draw secondary principles of necessity and honest intentions, to build the Babel of their confused designs and actions upon; not considering that wicked men perform the secret will of God to their damnation; as good men do the known will of their Father to their salvation.

..... If a man be sick to death, and his son wish him

dead, this is sin in the son, although his desire concur with the secret will of God; because the son ought to desire the preservation of his father's life. whereto the will of God revealed in his word obligeth him: & vivendum secundum præcepta, non secundum decreta Dei. The secret will and providence of God can be no rule and law of our actions. because we know it not: nor can search into it without presumption: we must not therefore altum sapere; think ourselves too wise, and well gifted to tie ourselves to the scriptures of God; and lust after revelations and inspirations, expecting God should rain bread from heaven for us: (Manna, Exod.xvi.4.) but be wise unto sobriety. But prosperum scelus virtus vocatur. Thus casting off the written word of God, unless where by an inforced interpretation they can squeeze atheism and blasphemy out of it, as they do sometimes rack treason, murder, and nonsense out of our laws, and parliament-priviledges, conducible to their ends, they insensibly cast off God himself, and make themselves the supreme cause and finall end, the Alpha and Omega, of all their doings, whilst they use the hidden and unsearchable providence of God but as a disguise and visard to mask under, like Colius the atheist in Martial. Prosperity is become a snare to them, and a topick place, out of which they draw arguments to satisfy themselves there is no God, no religion, but a prudential one to fool the people with.

Nullos esse Deos, inane Colum,
Affirmat Colius, probatque,
Quod se videt, dum negat hac, beatum.

But O wretched, unholied men! What are they

that thus commit burglery in the Sanctum Sanctorum of God's providence? That presume, not only to pry into, but to thrust their hands polluted with blood and rapine into God's mysterious ark?

"Thus much for the subject matter. For the manner of my writing, I confess, as to its style it is not æquabile scribendi genus, all of one weaving and contexture: it is a history writ with a satirick style and vein:

____nam quis iniqui

Tam patiens orbis, tam ferreus ut teneat se?

It is a virtue to hate and prosecute vice. The Scripture tells us there is a perfect hatred, a holy anger. And our Chaucer tells us, 'The words must be of kynn unto the deeds;' otherwise how can they be expressive enough? I detest 'vitia pulcherrime mangonizata;' vice tricked up in virtue's raiment; and prostituted under her modest dress to stir up adulterers.

Quicquid agunt homines, nostri est farrago libelli.

A huge galimaufry, an oglio of all villainies I here set before thee: it cannot be all of one dressing and seasoning, it must be a mixture, a hogo of all 'relishes; like manna in the wilderness, it must be applicable to all palates.

Wherefore according to the variety of every subject-matter, vel ridenti rideo, vel flenti fleo; I become all things to all men; I assimilate my affections and humors to every man's humor as well as to the present theam; that I may take every man by the right hand and lead him out of this Un of the Chaldeans, this land of Ægypt, this house of bondage

in judgment and conscience, though not in person and estate: which must only be the mighty handy work of that God, who is able to divide the Red Sea, and give us a safe march through it upon dry land.

"Which that he would vouchsafe to do, let us all join our hearty prayers: and that we may instrumentally serve him in it, let us all join our heads, hearts and hands together, since God neglects faint-hearted and cowardly prayers: let us not lie in the ditch, and cry, "God help us;" but let us help God to help us; and keep cor unum, viam unam, in the doing of it!"

ART. CCXCIX. Boscobel, or the compleat History of His Sacred Majesties most Miraculous Preservation after the Battle of Worcester, 3 Sept. 1651. Introduced by an exact Relation of that Battle; and illustrated with a Map of the City. The Third Edition with Additions.

Hear this, ye old men, and give ear all ye inhabitants of the land: has this been in your days, or in the days of your fathers?

JOEL, i. 2.

London. Printed by M. Clarke, and to be sold by H. Brome, and C. Harper, at their shops in S. Paul's Churchyard and Fleetstreet, 1680. 12mo. 1st Part. 81 Pages. The Second Part, styled the second stage of the Royal Progress, is dated 1681. 90 Pages.

This volume, which is dedicated to the King, by Tho. Blount, Esq. is ornamented with (1.) an engraving of his Majesty by Van Houe. (2.) An exact

Ground Plot of the City of Worcester, as it stood fortify'd 3 Sept. 1651. (3.) View of Boscobel House, White Ladies, the Royal Oak, &c. &c. (4.) Engraving of arms, in which the Roval Oak is introduced, (proper, in a field Or, a fess gules, charged with three regal crowns of the second; by the name of Carlos. And for his crest, a civic crown, or oaken garland, with a sword and scepter crossed through it saltierwise) granted by the King to Colonel William Carlis, who was born at Brom-hall in Staffordshire, within two miles of Boscobel. (5.) Frontispiece to the second part by Van Houe, representing some of the principal events. Subjoined is a small treatise of 90 pages, entitled Claustrum Regale Reseratum, or the King's Concealment at Trent, published by A. W. 1681.

I.S.C.

This account was first published 1660, in 8vo. and translated into French and Portuguese; the latter by Peter Gifford, of White Ladies in Staffordshire, a Roman Catholic.

Thomas Blount, the author, was son of Myles Blount of Orleton, in Herefordshire, and was educated to the law in the Temple, where he became a Barrister. He published several other works, of which one, The Art of making Devises will be hereafter noticed. The rest are recorded in A. Wood's Ath. II. 73. He died at Orleton, 26 Dec. 1679.

Full extracts from this Boscobel are given in the Addenda to Lord Clarendon's History, on which account they are omitted here.

VOL. IV.

ART. CCC. The Idol of the Clownes, or Insurrection of Wat the Tyler, with his fellow Kings of the Commons, against the English Church, the King, the Lawes, Nobility and Gentry, in the fourth Yeare of King Richard the Second, Anno 1381.

Nulla Tyrannis vel quieta est vel diuturna.

London. Printed in the Year 1654.

This curious little volume details some events, exactly resembling those dreadful scenes, which took place in France during the revolution: and the reflections of the writer, after what has passed in our days, carry with them peculiar force.

" To the Reader.

[Extract from the conclusion.]

"What I relate here (to speak something of the story) I collect out of Sir John Froissart, a Frenchman, living in the times of King Edward the Third, and his grandchild, K. Rich. who had seen England in both reigns, was known and esteemed in the court, and came last over after these tumults were appeased; and out of Thomas of Walsingham, a monk of S. Albans, in Henry the Sixth's dayes: who (sayes Bale, in his Centuries of him) writes many the most choice passages of affairs, and actions, such as no other hath met with. In the main, and to the substance of things, I have made no additions, no alterations. I have faithfully followed my authors, who were not so historically exact as I could wish, nor could I much better what did not please me in

their order. No man, (sayes Walsingham.) can recite fully the mischeifes, murders, sacriledge, and cruelty of these actors; he excuses his digesting them upon the confusion of the combustions flaming in such variety of places, and in the same time. Tyler, Litster, and those of Hartfordshire, take up the most part of the discourse; Westbrome is brought in by halves; the lesser snakes are onely named in the chronicle: what had been more, had not been to any purpose; those were but types of Tyler the idol, and acted nothing but according to the Originall; according to his great example, they were Welves alike, and he that reads one knows all; Thomas of Becket, Simon of Montfort; the English Catiline, Thomas of Lancaster; Rebels and Traitors of the former yeares, are canonised by the Monks (generally the enemies of their kings.) Miracles make their tombs illustrious, and their memories sacred. The Idoll and his Incendiaries are abhorred every where, every history detests them. While Faith, Civility, Honesty and Piety, shall be left in the World, the enemies of all these must neither be beloved, nor pittied."

I. S. C.

This was one of the publications of Sir David Dalrymple, Bart. * Lord Hailes; and, for some *Sir David also published "Memorials and Letters of British

ART. CCC1. The Secret Correspondence of Sir Robert Cecil with James VI. King of Scotland. Now first published. Edinburgh. Printed for A. Millar, in the Strand. London. MDCCLXVI. Duod. pp. 235.

reason or other, does not often occur in modern catalogues. At least I was not successful in procuring a copy, when I was compiling the "Memoirs of Peers of James I.;" and only lately met with it in the library of a near relation.

Its contents are singularly curious and important. They add tenfold confirmation to the duplicity, artifice, and intrigue, of Sir Robert Cecil. And though, in the opinion of many, they may not detract from his ability, they must fill all virtuous minds with a horror of his selfish, and ungenerous, character.

The number of the letters is sixteen, of which the first contains King James's Instructions to the Earl of Marr and Mr. Edward Bruce, his ambassadors at the Court of Queen Elizabeth. The ninth is also a letter from this Monarch to Lord Henry Howard, (afterwards Earl of Northampton). The rest are all from Lord Henry Howard, (Cecil's instrument,) to King James, the Earl of Marr, and Mr. Edward Bruce.

The principal purpose of this correspondence was evidently to ingratiate Cecil, and the Letter-Writer, with the rising Sun, and to destroy all opinion and favour of their enemies and rivals. The primary objects of their hatred and fear were Raleigh, Cobham, and Northumberland, which at once takes away all

History, temp. Jam. I. and Charles I. 2 vols. Glasg. 1766." Sir David was born at Edinburgh, 28 Oct. 1726; educated at Eton school, and Utrecht; called to the Scotch bar, 1748; and a Judge of Session 1766, with the title of Lord Hailes. He died 29 Nov. 1792, æt. 66, and was the author of many valuable publications, especially historical.

the surprise, felt or affected, at the hard circumstances, and real or fictitious treasons, in which they were involved, soon after King James's accession to the throne of England. The intrigues, which these ill-starred men were carrying on to gain the expectant monarch's countenance, were in them, according to Cecil, flagrant crimes; though, in himself, a similar conduct was virtuous. Strange effrontery! when in him, the most confidential minister of Queen Elizabeth, it was the highest breach of trust; in them, I know not that it was even blameable!

How much then have we reason to doubt that mysterious conspiracy, which has been called Raleigh's plot! How fairly may we be sceptical, as to the justice of the punishment inflicted on Northumberland, for a supposed privity to the Gunpowder Treason! And will it be uncandid, to suspect that these accusations were but final strokes of that malice, which Cecil had long been pursuing against these sufferers?

Northumberland expressed his astonishment at the heavy judgments which had fallen on him, after the active attachment he conceived that he had shewn to King James's succession, and the favourable light in which he consequently believed himself to stand with that monarch. But he had not penetrated the dissimulation, and the dark cabals, of Cecil, who all this time had been representing him as at once dangerous and contemptible; so that the Sovereign's bosom had long been prepared to receive the worst impressions of him.

Raleigh had, unhappily for the purity of his own character, joined Cecil in the fall of Essex. The

accomplices of a guilty deed can seldom continue their amity long. He fell himself by the swing of that power, which he had contributed to strengthen. for the destruction of others! The crooked Secretary, more crooked still in his soul than in his body, no longer required the aid of a mind so bold and romantic as Raleigh's. He could not endure, therefore, that he should participate with him the smiles of the future possessor of the throne. Raleigh, it has been said, made an equal attempt against Cecil; and if so, he, who was successful, it might naturally be expected, would crush his opponent: but of this I do not find satisfactory evidence in these letters. Lord Henry Howard no where, that I can recollect, hints at, or endeavours to obviate, personal prejudices so disseminated against his patron or himself. He throws the foulest abuse on the general characters of Raleigh and Cobham; he calls them "those wicked villains;" * " that accursed duality;" † " who hover in the air for an advantage, as kites do for carrion;"t and says that "hell did never spew up such a couple, when it cast up Cerberus and Phlegethon." Nay, while they are represented unworthy of confidence, inconstant and pursuing only their own interests, they are accused of applying to Cecil himself to aid their influence, first with King James, and, on this not succeeding, with Queen Elizabeth; applications inconsistent with a belief in this charge; for, surely, the mighty spirit of Raleigh could never have descended to solicit the good offices of him, whose destruction he was plotting,

But the reader shall judge for himself, by the insertion of some of the passages alluded to.

* P. 35. + P. 66. ‡ P. 88. § P. 132.

"I gave you notice," says Lord Henry Howard to Mr. Edw. Bruce, in his third letter, " of the diabolical triplicity, that is, Cobham, Raleigh, and Northumberland, that met every day at Durham House, where Raleigh lies in consultation, which awaked all the best wits of the town, out of suspicions of sundry kinds, to watch what chickens they would hatch out of these cockatrice eggs, that were daily and nightly sitten on." *-- "Cobham, finding how impossible it is to cut the sinews of Cecil's motion in our estate; and that, like a raging billow, he doth rather break himself than the rock against which he beats," &c. "either turned within five days after, or at the least seemed to turn another leaf; and taking the advantage of the fitness of time, wherein he was appointed to accompany the Duke for Lenoxl at his last going to the Queen, brake with him, touching the conceit which many hold of his affection to King James; and, as himself hath since imparted with his own mouth to Cecil, both excused himself of imputations past, and vowing future affection, which is almost miraculous." Lord Henry then gives "the reasons which Cobham vouched of his instruction to King James." + But "Cecil knew, by certain late courses undertaken, that these were not the motives of his revolution, (though they might move a reasonable man,) but colourably laid together by Raleigh, that his purpose might be better covered and carried."1

" Cecil answered to Cobham's plain confession, that he made a great adventure if King James were

^{*} P. 29 + P. 39, 40, 1 P. 42.

either malicious or humorous, considering his ordinary axiom, both since the death of Essex and before, delivered with passion, and often openly, that it was not possible for any man to be a loyal subject to his gracious mistress, that respected King James in any degree, either present or future. Cobham said, that such fervent speeches were effects of zeal, and so to be interpreted. Cecil said that he would neither make nor meddle with his course, but he had done that which $h\epsilon$ would not adventure for his state, but hoped that her Majesty should outlive him; and after her, setting aside conscience, which ought ever to favour right, he was indifferent which way soever it should please God to dispose of the monarchy. This cold answer pleased not; but there was no further help, where caution had sealed up secrecy.

"The very next day Raleigh came to him with the same brave flourishes of confidence and love, but touching the main point more reservedly; for he denied any kind of proffer of devotion or kind affection to have been made to King James from him by the Duke, but protested, that the Duke had sent earnestly to crave conference with him privately, which he had denied with a gallant answer, that he had been over deeply engaged and obliged to his own mistress to seek favour any where, and seemed in a sort, to take the motion unkindly, that should either divert his eye, and diminish his sole respect to his own Sovereign. Cecil answering, that he did well, and as himself would have made answer, if the like offer had been made; Raleigh, without any long dissimulation, went roundly to the point, desiring Cecil to let the Queen know the particular; what had been

offered, what answered. From this course Cecil dissuaded him by many reasons; as, that the Queen would rather mark a weakness that gave the Duke encouragement, than praise his resolution. Again, that it would be thought a motive only to pick a thank, and in the present by dishonour, and in the future by danger, do more hurt than it could ever do him good any way."*

"If the Duke [of Lenox] crave traffic with these gallants of intelligence by correspondency of King James, Cecil desires him not to yield to it in any sort; for the first beginning King James may find that their intentions are traitorous, and only seek, like syrens, by sweet songs, to draw those passengers within the compass of their danger, whom they would work upon for private use, and desire to devour most eagerly." †

Soon after follows a threat, which proves Cecil's confidence in his own power over King. James. "You must persuade the King, in his next dispatch, to direct you to thank Cecil in the letter which you write to me, for the light he receives of Cobham and Raleigh by this advertisement; and if it please his Majesty to speak of them suitably to the concert which Cecil holds, it will be the better; for Cecil sware to me this day, that duo erinacii, that is, he and they, would never live under one apple-tree. The thing which Cecil would have me print in the King's mind, is the miserable state of Cobham and Raleigh, who are fain to put their heads under the girdle of him whom they envy most, and that they

cannot escape his walk with all their agility; which, if you seem in your letter by the King's direction to observe, you tickle the right humour.*

"Raleigh and Cobham, as they vaunt themselves, have agreed with the Duke to further all the plots that shall be recommended hither, and returned back with a new crest for the weakening of you + and Mr. Bruce; whom they give out to be opposite to the Duke, in seeking to hold King James at the Queen's devotion, and to draw him all they can from having a good conceit of the Queen, or her chief counsellers of state, resenting still the death of Essex, and desiring, for revenge, the state's confusion. Cecil knows all this, and makes the better sport; because he hears that all their flattery to him, is only to incense him against you and Mr. Bruce, and to draw the King by compliments from hence, to entertain both there and here new followers and favourites. Your Lordship may belive, that hell did never spew up such a couple, when it cast up Cerberus and Phlegethon. They are now set on the pin of making tragedies, by meddling in your affairs; since among us, longer than they follow the Queen's humour in disclaiming and disgracing honest men, their credit serves them not. For my Lord Admiral [Nottingham] the other day wished from his soul, that he had but the same commission to carry the cannon to Durham-House, that he had this time twelvementh to carry it to Essex house, to prove what sport he could make in that fellowship." #

* P. 52. + Lord Marr. ! P

‡ P. 131—133.

Sept. 1602. "In this place all is quiet, and hath ever been without disturbance, since Cobham by sickness, and Raleigh by directions, were absent from court: for though Northumberland, to maintain life in the party, were directed by them to attend the progress, yet his head is so shallow, and his friends are so few, as he was not able to make good the first point of their project, which was to give intelligence, much less to carry the Sovereign. Being weary of ill lodgings, in respect of his patched body, he made a sudden retreat, and now means to go down to visit his Damon Raleigh, who is come from his stand in Dorsetshire, which hath angered the Queen exceedingly, because he did it without premonition of his purpose, for fear of a countermand; so gracious doth his own conscience hold him at this instant with her Majesty."*

The opinion of Sir John Harington, the poet, as it is recorded in the Nuga Antiquæ, is worthy of attention on the subject of Raleigh's character, † as it was written by one not ill inclined to Cecil, and of undoubted sagacity, and knowledge of the world. It is contained in a letter to Dr. John Still, Bishop of Bath and Wells, 1603.

"I doubt not but some state business is well-nigh begun, or to be made out; but these matters pertain not to me now. I much fear for my good Lord Grey and Raleigh. I hear the plot was well nigh accomplished, to disturb our peace, and favour

^{*} P. 229.

[†] A new Life of Sir Walter Raleigh has lately been published by Mr. A. Cayley; but, as I have not seen it, I know not whether I have fallen into any coincidence with him, of matter or opinion.

Arabella Stuart, the Prince's cousin. The Spaniards bear no good will to Raleigh, and I doubt if some of the English have much better affection towards him; God deliver me from these designs. I have spoken with Carew* concerning the matter; he thinketh ill of certain people, whom I know, and wisheth he could gain knowledge and further inspection hereof, touching those who betraved this business. Cecil doth bear no love to Raleigh, as you well understand in the matter of Essex. I wist not that he hath evil design, in point of faith or religion. As he hath often discoursed to me with much learning, wisdom, and freedom, I think he doth somewhat differ in opinion from some others; but I think also his heart is well fixed in every honest thing, as far as I can look into him. seemeth wondrously fitted, both by art and nature, to serve the state, especially as he is versed in foreign matters, his skill being always estimable and praise-worthy. In religion, he hath shewn in private talk great depth and good reading, as I once experienced at his own house, before many learned men. In good truth, I pity his state, and doubt the dice not fairly thrown, if his life be the losing stake: but hereof enough; as it becometh not a poor country knight to look from the plough-handle into policy and privacy. I thank Heaven, I have been well nigh driven heretofore into narrow straits, among state rocks and sightless dangers; but, if I have gained little profit and not much honour, I

^{* &}quot;Sir George Carew, afterwards Embassador to the Court of France."

have not ventured so far as to be quite sunken herein." *

Lord Cobham, who has hitherto been represented to have been weak, is not held forth in that light in these letters. He is here, in conjunction with Raleigh, constantly called worthless, while the imputation of weakness and ductility is reserved for the Earl of Northumberland. But it seems, Lord Henry Howard and Cecil engrossed, in their own eyes, all the virtue and the wisdom of the nation.

What a life of anxiety and restlessness must these wretches have led, who relied for their success, not on the talent, ability, and care, with which they conducted the public weal, but on their superior artifice, on their pre-eminent falsehood and deceit, in outwitting their personal rivals! Well might Cecil exclaim to Sir John Harington, (29 May, 1603) "Good Knight, rest content, and give beed to one that hath sorrowed in the bright lustre of a court, and gone heavily even to the best seeming ground. It is a great task to prove one's honesty, and yet not spoil one's fortune. You have tasted a little hereof in our blessed Queen's time, who was more than a man, and in troth sometime less than a I wish I waited now in her presence chamber, with ease at my food and rest in my bed. I am pushed from the shore of comfort, and know not where the winds and waves of a court will bear me; I know it bringeth little comfort on earth; and

^{*} From Park's elegant republication of the "Nugæ Antiquæ," 1804, Vol. I. p. 341. This a most interesting publication, in which the Poet's letters are highly curious and valuable. His portraits of Q. Elizabeth and K. James, are unusually distinct and lively.

he is, I reckon, no wise man, that looketh this way to heaven!"*

The Countess of Kildare, widow of Henry Fitzgerald, Earl of Kildare, daughter of Lord Nottingham, and now re-married to Lord Cobham; and the Countess of Northumberland, sister to the unfortunate Essex; were both, as seems by these letters, active partizans of King James, and both being on doubtful terms with their husbands, were occasionally resorted to, by them, for the purposes of carrying on their cabals with the expectant monarch. The former is painted weak, vain, busy, and garrulous; the latter amiable and warm, and constant in her attachments.

A few other characters are touched by the malignant pens of these interested correspondents, thus:

"It is advertised to Cecil, that H. Leigh, at his being here, did either bring a letter or a message from your Majesty to Sussex †, which we cannot believe; your Majesty doth know the man so well, and hath so well tasted his affections in former levities. One pitying his estate not long ago, to a devoted friend of yours, with great fear that he would sink suddenly, was willed to be of good cheer, for that he had so much cork in his head, as that he should sink was impossible. I know not how, but in these days, as in former times, fools are not fortunate. Your Majesty hath had experience in

^{*} Park's " Nuga Antiquæ of Harington, Vol. I. p. 345.

[†] Robert Ratcliffe succeeded to the Earldom of Sussex, 37 Eliz. and died 1629.

Lincoln's * business, and are like enough to find it sooner by the slightest traffic with this giddy fellow, who, by how much he is less fearful than the other, by so much he is more dangerous, both being mad equally." †

Again, "Cecil is infinitely glad that Mountiov t and Southampton & are so strange to the mystery. as by this appears, and that all was not true which was advertised. He desireth me to write, that in no one thing he can acknowledge your respect and grace, so much as in casting clouds over their curiosity. For Mountjoy, out of observation, hath begun to sound, but without satisfaction, to the point of his eagerness. He knows it to be very true. as Mr. Bruce writes, that they would both be glad, that he would come into the circle, though not so much, as he hath sundry motives to believe, out of desire to set forward the main, which may be done without their privity, as to labour their own private ends upon advantages. He hath saved the life of the one, out of respect to his affection to King James, though it were neither ancient nor very meritorious: he hath preserved the reputation and credit of the other for the same respect, though his adventure berein was not small. The rest must be wrought out with opportunity and time; for the

^{*} Henry Clinton, Second Earl of Lincoln, succeeded 1584, died 1616. See Memoirs of King James's Peers, p. 43—45.

⁺ P. 187.

[†] Charles Blount, Lord Mountjoy, afterwards created Earl of Devonshire. He died 1606, aged 43. See Memoirs, ut supr. p. 25.

[§] Henry Wriothesley, Earl of Southampton, the patron of Shakspears. Ob. 1624. *Ibid.* p, 322.

Queen hath passions, against which whosoever struggles above the measure and proportion of state, shall be reputed a participant."*

In Letter XIV. there is an assertion, to which it is very difficult to give credit.

"I do remember, that in our late unlucky tragedies, many of Essex's friends were willing that he should rather break his neck, by desperate attempts suitable to their own humours, than be saved and redeemed by the faith and industry of Cecil, who, of all men living, in case he had found subjectum bene dispositum, would have dealt best with, and perfected the work of his deliverance." †

Thus it is that time will gradually unfold the secrets of state, and the private intrigues of cabinets. Much has been done regarding the reigns of Elizabeth and James; but I am convinced that much yet remains to be done. There is a delight in rescuing from calumny the memory of those great and unfortunate men, who have long sunk beneath the weight of falsehood and injustice, which expands the heart and elevates the soul. How willingly would I devote to it days and nights of labour and investigation, did my fate permit me! But, far removed from the mines of treasure, whence ore of this kind can be extracted; ‡ at a distance from

^{* 188, 189.}

[†] P. 219. "Here is an assertion," says Dalrymple, "opposed to the general current of history."

[‡] It is yet the author's intention soon to publish another volume of Memoirs of the Peers of James I. from the conviction of the utility of such a work, notwithstanding the little encouragement he has received.

those noble repositories of letters, state-papers, and memorials, which yet have been so imperfectly explored; oppressed by difficulties, and agitated by almost hourly persecution, how can I possess the command of my humble faculties sufficiently to pursue, intensely and without interruption, any literary occupation or work of the mind? I dare not now hope that the day will ever arrive, when I shall be permitted in calmness and patience to accomplish some of those designs, long floating in my brain, which distraction and sorrow have hitherto stifled! But I will persevere. There is a selfish cowardice in sitting still, because we cannot accomplish the extent of our wishes. And compared with literature, what is there of human comfort to gild the paths of life?

Aut. CCCII. Fragmenta Regalia. Written by Sir Robert Naunton, Master of the Court of Wards. Printed Anno Dom. 1641. 4to. pp. 49.

THERE have been subsequent editions of this little tract, of which one was in 1694, 8vo. and one within these very few years.

Sir Robert Naunton was educated at Cambridge, where he was Proctor and Public Orator; and attracting the notice of King James, was brought to court. By the influence of Villiers he was promoted to be Secretary of State, 8 Jan. 1617; and afterwards Master of the Court of Wards. He died 163..*

These sketches of the characters of Queen Elizabeth's times and favourites by one, who had himself

* See Fuller's Worthies, Suff. p. 64.

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been in some degree admitted into the penetralia of courts, are very interesting.*

- ART. CCCIII. The History of the Worthies of England. Endeavoured by Thomas Fuller, D.D. London. Printed by J. G. W. L. and W. G. 1662. Fol.
- ART. CCCIV. State-Worthies, or the Statesmen and Favourites of England since the Reformation; their prudence and policies, successes and miscarriages, advancements and falls during the reigns of King Henry VIII. King Edward VI. Queen Mary, Queen Elizabeth, King James, King Charles I. The Second Edition with Additions. London. Printed by Thomas Milbourn for Samuel Speed, in Threadneedle Street near the Royal Exchange. 1670. Sm. 8vo.
- ART. CCCV. England's Worthies. Select Lives of the most eminent persons of the English nation from Constantine the Great down to these times. By William Winstanley. London. Printed by J. C. and F. C. for Obadiah Blagrave, at the Bear in St. Paul's Churchyard, 1684. Sm. 8vo.
- Memoires of the Lives, Actions, Sufferings and Deaths of those noble, reverend, and excellent personages, that suffered by death, sequestration, decimation, or otherwise, for the Protestant Religion, and the great principle thereof, Allegiance to their Soveraigne, in our late intestine wars, from the year 1637 to the year 1660, and from thence continued to 1666. With the life and martyrdom

^{*} Several of these Memoirs are reprinted in the Harleian Miscellany; and in the late Selection from it in one vol. 4to.

of King Charles I. By Da. Lloyd. A. M. sometime of Oriel College in Oxon. London. Printed for Samuel Speed; and sold by him at the Rainbow between the two Temple-gates; by John Wright at the Globe in Little Britain; John Symmes, at Gresham Colledge-gate in Bishopsgatestreet; and James Collins in Westminster-hall. 1668. Fol.

In all these works, though of various fame, among which the first is of most reputation and price, and the last of considerable authority, there are many curious notices of popular biography, and many amusing traits of personal history.

The "Worthies" of FULLER were a posthumous publication: for that learned compiler died 16 Aug. 1661. It is unnecessary to detail the particulars of his life, because memoirs of him are to be found in all our biographical collections. His "Abel Redivivus," will hereafter be recorded in this work.

Before the present book is a fine portrait of the author, engraved by Loggan. The plan of this work is according to an alphabetical arrangement of counties, in which he insists on the native commodities, the manufactures, medicinal waters, wonders, buildings, local proverbs, medicinal herbs; eminent natives, (as princes, martyrs, saints, confessors, popes, cardinals, bishops, statesmen, admirals, judges, soldiers, and sailors, authors, public benefactors, lord mayors,) gentry in the time of Henry VI. sheriffs, modern battles. This method is explained in XXV preliminary chapters.

This collection, though partaking of Fuller's common faults, a loose and corrupt style of composition, a quaint vivacity, and too many trite and colloquial anecdotes, yet contains many interesting memorials, the result of long, active, and extended research; and notwithstanding it may exhibit several errors which the intelligent reader will easily rectify, is far from meriting the dull and ill-natured censures of Bishop Nicholson. It is a book, which never yet has been superseded; and though upon this foundation it is easy to plan, and might not now be difficult to execute, a popular work of the same kind, with equal liveliness, more accuracy, and still more copious materials, yet, till such a work is produced, Fuller's Worthies will continue to rise in price and estimation: for no well-furnished library of English History ought to be without it. The List of Sheriffs is of peculiar use to an antiquary; and must have cost the author infinite toil.

Of LLOYD, who seems to have been an humble imitator of Fuller's faults, I cannot speak so well; yet as this compiler has also registered many minutiæ, which would otherwise have been forgotten, and as we still see his pages cited by modern authors of credit, I may be excused for borrowing a short account of him from Anthony Wood.

David Lloyd was born at Pant Mawr in Merionethshire, 28 Sept. 1635, educated at Ruthen in Denbighshire, and became a servitor of Oriel College, Oxford, in 1652; took his degrees, went into orders, and first obtained preferment in Oxfordshire, from whence he went to London, and became Reader at the Charter-house; and having at this time the ambition of authorship upon him, wrote many books, which "being without quotation or authority" according to Wood, were little esteemed by intelligent men. He then retired into Wales, and gave himself

up to getting money, instead of fame, and died there 16 Feb. 1691, not without leaving a good moral character behind him, and wishing to be known to posterity only by his two books "The Worthies of the World" abridged from Plutarch, 1665, 8vo. and his "Statesmen and Favourites" here mentioned, first published in 1665.*

Of WILLIAM WINSTANLEY, originally a barber, and a notorious plagiary, the same, who stole the characters of the English poets from Phillips's Theatrum, and put them without acknowledgment into a book of his own, which he called "The Lives of the most famous English poets," Lond. 1687, 8vo. it is unnecessary to give more than the title-page, which I have already copied.

LLOYD's book is too common to require extracts, or further notice. It contains 260 characters and upwards. Winstanley's contains only 72 characters.

ART. CCCVI. A most true and Exact Relation of that as honourable as unfortunate Expedition of Kent, Essex, and Colchester. By M. C. a loyall Actor in that Engagement, Anno Dom. 1648. Printed in the Yeare 1650. Duod. pp. 214.

I ONLY mention this scarce little tract with the hope of preserving it from oblivion, because it records several particulars not noticed by Lord Clarendon, and our general Historians. The author, Matthew Carter, acted as quarter-master-general in this expedition. It is dedicated from some place

* Wood says, he published "The Countess of Bridgewater's Ghost," 1663, 8vo. in honour of that excellent woman, which the Earl resented, as a liberty unworthy her memory, taken by too obscure a person. See a list of the rest of his works in Wood, II. 883.

of imprisonment, "To the truly noble and his worthily honoured friend sir C. K.," whose address to the reader follows. At the end are three copies of verses, I. "To my ingenious Friend upon his exact Journal of the Kentish Forces," signed G. W. II. "To the ingenious Author of these Commentaries," signed Roderigoe. III. "To my honoured Friend upon his Commentary," signed E. P.

The author concludes his own relation with the following prophetic paragraph.

"For my own part, I will not despair while there is mercy in heaven, and a just title upon earth, but Charles the Second may fulfil that prophecy that is so authentically avowed concerning his person, when all these horrid distractions and clouds shall vanish into a calm, and there shall be no more a babel city,

Carolus a Carolo, Major erit Carolo Magno."

There is no doubt that the author was the same who published the following:

Honor Redivious; or, An Analysis of Honour and Armory. By Matthew Carter, Esq. London. Printed for Henry Herringman, 1673, 8vo. And are to be sould by Henry Herringman at the Ancker on the lowest Side of the New Exchange.

All which is on an engraved title-page, by R. Gaywood. The printed title-page, which follows, calls it the Third Edition. * Opposite the first is a plate of the arms of Carter (two lions combatant), with a crescent for difference.

[#] First printed 1655, and again 1660.

One of the examples of arms, p. 264, points out the author's Kentish connexions and acquaintance. for it contains a shield of the nine following coats. known at that time by their connexion either by blood or marriage, with the Auchers of Bourne near Canterbury. 1. Sir Thomas Peyton, of Knowlton, Bart. 2. Sir Anthony Aucher of Bourne. 3. Sir James Thynne, of Longleat, Wilts. 4. Anthony Hammond, of St. Alban's, in East Kent, Esq. [ancestor of James Hammond, the elegiac poet]. 5. Thomas Stanley, of Cumberlow, in Hertfordshire, Esq. the poet [whose mother was a Hammond]. 6. Edward Hales, of Tunstal, in Kent, Esq. 7. Roger James, of Rygate, in Surry, Esq. 8. Killigrew. of Cornwall [whose connexion with the rest I do not know]. 9. Stephen Penckhurst, of Buxted, in Sussex, Esq. *

ART. CCCVII. "The History of the King's Majesties Affaires in Scotland, under the conduct of the most Honourable James Marques of Montrose, Earl of Kincardin, etc. and Generall Governour of that Kingdome in the Years 1644, 1645, 1646. Printed in the Year 1649." Small 8vo. without either place or printer's name, pp. 192, Preface 6. At the end of which are the following lines "on

^{*} With my copy of this last work is bound up the following: "Jus imaginis apud Anglos; or, The Law of England relating to the nobility and Gentry. Faithfully collected and methodically digested for common benefit. By John Brydall, of Lincoln's Inn, Esquire. Loud. for John Billinger, in Clifford's Inn Lane, near Fleet Street; and George Dawes, over against Lincoln's Inn Gate in Chancery Lane." 1673. pp. 70.

the death of King Charles the First," here copied literally.

"GREAT! Good! and Just! could I but Rate
My Griefs and Thy too Rigid fate,
I'de weeepe the world to such a straine,
As it should deluge once againe.
But since Thy loud-tongued blood demands supplys
More from BRIAREUS Hands than ARGUS Eys,
Ile sing Thy Obsequies, with trumpet Sounds,
And write thy EPITAPH with BLOOD and WOUNDS.
MONTROSE, written with the point of his Sword."

This history was originally written in Latin by Dr. George Wisheart, Bishop of Edinburgh, who attended Montrose in all his expeditions, and was both an eye and ear witness of what he relates. It was first published in 1646, and again 1647. It was translated also into English, and printed in that year: from that time to 1660 there were several editions in 4to, and 8vo. after which period no other appeared till the year 1720, when it again was printed in small 8vo. with the addition of a second part, and fifteen letters to Montrose from Charles the First, Charles the Second, Prince Rupert, and Queen Henrietta Maria, " from originals in the publisher's hands."-Who this was I am unable to learn. This last and improved edition contains pp. 200, besides the appendix, letters, &c. which in all consist of 294: it has neither printer's or bookseller's name, but was published at London: it is much superior to the old ones, and I doubt not but it is more scarce. P. B.

ART. CCCVIII. A Narrative of some passages in or relating to the Long Parliament. Curse not the King, no not in thy thought. Eccles. x. 20.—Rebellion is as the sin of witchcraft. 1 Sam. xv. 23. By a Person of Honour. London. Printed for Robert Pawlet at the Bible in Chancery Lane, 1670. sm. duod. pp. 101.

This little tract was written by Dubley, 4th Lord North, and contains several curious passages. But it may be unnecessary to give a full account of the book, as the elaborate edition of Lord Orford's * Royal and Noble Authors by Mr. Park, which the public has reason to expect will soon make its appearance, must I presume, comprise notices of or extracts from this volume.

Dec. 26, 1805.

ART. CCCIX. Letters written by Sir W. Temple, Baronet, and other Ministers of State, both at home and abroad; containing an Account of the most important Transactions that passed in Christendom from the year 1665 to the year 1672. In two volumes; reviewed by Sir W. Temple, sometime before his death, and published by Jonathan Swift, Domestic Chaplain to his Excellency the Earl of Berkeley, one of the Lord's Justices of Ireland.

^{*} I am sorry to observe Mr. Cumberland's contemptuous mention of the author of the Castle of Otranto, the Mysterious Mother, and other works of indubitable genius, as well as of industrious research, and elegant taste. My respect for a veteran in liverature restrains my pen from saying more. See Cumberland's Memoirs, p. 17.

London. Printed for J. Tonson, A. and J. Churchill, and R. Simpson. 1700. 8vo.

Select Letters to the Prince of Orange (now King of England) King Charles II. and the Earl of Arlington, upon important subjects. Vol. III. To which is added an Essay upon the State and Settlement of Ireland. All written by Sir William Temple, Baronet. Published from the originals of Sir William Temple's own hand-writing, and never before printed. London. Printed for Tho. Bennet, 1701. 8vo.

ART. CCCX. The Right Honourable the Earl of Arlington's Letters to Sir William Temple, Baronet, from July 1665, being the first of his employments abroad, to Sept. 1670; when he was recalled. Giving a perfect and exact account of the Treaties of Munster, Breda, Aix la Chapelle, and the Triple Alliance; together with the particular instructions to Sir William Temple, the Earl of Carlingford, and Mr. Van Beumingen, with other papers, relating to those Treaties. As also a particular Relation of Madam, by a person of Quality then actually on the spot. All printed from the Original never before published. By Tho. Bebington of Gray's Inn, Gent. London. Printed for T. Bennet. 1701. 8vo. pp. 454.

The Right Honourable the Earl of Arlington's Letters, Vol. II. Containing a compleat Collection of his Lordship's Letters to Sir Richard Fanshaw, the Earl of Sandwich, the Earl of Sunderland, and Sir W. Godolphin, during their respective embassies in Spain from 1664 to 1674. As also to

Sir Robert Southwell in Portugal. Now published from the originals, and never before printed. London. Printed for T. Bennet, 1701. 8vo. pp. 480.

It has been observed, that "the seventeenth century, especially towards the latter part of it, may justly be styled an age of intrigue; in which most of the Princes of Europe, and their Ministers of State, carried on their projects and designs with more address and policy than open force and plain downright violence. Those disciples of Machiavel. Richlieu, and Mazarine, refined upon and improved the maxims of their masters so far, that they had the art, even whilst they were signing of treaties, and caressing each other after the most endearing manner, to carry on underhand a scheme of proceedings, which looked another way. The more we reflect upon those dark times, the more we are at a loss what to infer from them; for all things seemed to be , intricate, and the Arcana Imperii, the mysteries of state, were veiled with so thick a cloud, that they were screened not only from vulgar view, but even from the eyes of those, who pretended to be sharper sighted than others.

"And, in truth, the historian, who undertakes the history of those times, finds himself in a sort of labyrinth, out of which he can hardly get without a friendly clue to lead him through the maze. Nay, Memoirs and Letters, which can give him the clearest light into these matters, will afford him but little help, unless he has judgment enough to distinguish, and integrity enough to deliver nothing but what is truth, or at least that, which looks most like it. For,

amidst those heaps of secret histories, private letters, &c. which have been published, by men of several and contrary parties, one cannot tell where to fix, nor whose relation to credit; since they contradict one another so often in relating matters of fact; and that both sides of a contradiction cannot be true, is a maxim or axiom granted on all hands."*

That Sir William Temple was a scholar, his works sufficiently testify; and that he was an able statesman, these letters will evince. They are not mere formal letters, and letters of compliment; but such as carry in them a discovery of the secret springs of action under one of the most subtle reigns that England ever knew. There is contained in them an account of all the chief transactions and negotiations, which passed in Christendom, during the seven years, in which they are dated: viz. The War with Holland, which began in 1665. The treaty between King Charles II. and the Bishop of Munster, with the issue of it: the French Invasion of Flanders in 1667; the Peace concluded between Spain and Portugal by King Charles's Mediation; the Treaty at Breda; the Triple Alliance; and the Peace of Aix La Chapelle. In the Second Part are contained, The Negotiations in Holland, in consequence of those alliances, with the steps and degrees, by which they came to decay: the journey and death of Madame: the seisure of Lorraine by the French, and his Excellency's recall; with the first unkindness between England and Holland, upon the Yatch's transporting his lady and family; and the

^{*} Works of the Learned, 1700, 4to. Vol. II. p. 673.

beginning of the Second Dutch War in 1672. By these it appears, "how faithful a minister Sir William was in the discharge of his trust to his master; how just a sense he had of the affairs and state of Europe, and how true a friend he was to the particular interest of the English nation."*

As to the first volume of Lord Arlington's Letters, most of them are written upon the same subject with those of Sir W. Temple, and, being compared together, may give the reader an insight into the secret and obscure management of affairs during that space of time.†

The second volume carries us to the transactions on the other side the mountains, being sent to the several ambassadors, that resided successively in Spain for ten years together, and containing in them a piece of history, of which the world had hitherto had but imperfect accounts. Here are the original papers relating to the transactions then on foot, besides the particular treaties between Spain and Portugal, England and Spain, and Spain and Holland. In short, here is the best history of all the transactions of our ablest ministers in Spain and Portugal from 1664 to 1674: and from thence the true springs may be observed, upon which most of the great affairs of Europe turned at that time.

ART. CCCXI. Fragmenta Aulica: or Court and State Jests in noble drollery: true and real: ascertained to their times, places, and persons. By

T. S. Gent. London: Printed by H. Marsh and Jos. Conyers. 1662. 12mo. pp. 144. [With neatly engraved frontispiece of a male and female figure, superscribed "Curia quasi Incuria," and beneath their feet an owl and a magpie.]

This amusing collection of court-witticisms professes to be rectified from false citations, and to have the several pieces reduced to their undoubted originals by the careful examination of historical and other tracts. Many of them will be found in later volumes of jests and anecdotes; the reader is here presented with a few that are of less common occurrence.

"In the King's wardrobe is a rich piece of arras* presenting the sea fight in 1588, which at severall

The titles of the following volumes relative to this period may be added here.

- 1. Original Letters and Negotiations of Sir Richard Fanshaw, the Earl of Sandwich; the Earl of Sunderland, and Sir William Godolphin wherein divers matters between the three Crowns of England, Spain, and Portugal, from the year 1663 to 1678, are set in a clear light. 2 vols, 800. 1724.
- 2. Sir Richard Bulstrode's Letters written to the Earl of Arlington, Brown at the Court of Brussels from King Charles II. containing the most remarkable Transactions both in Court and Camp, during his Ministry, particularly the famous battle of Seneff, between the Prince of Orange and the Prince of Conde. 8vo. 1712.
- 3. Original Letters from King William the Third to King Charles II. Lord Arlington, &c. translated, with an account of his reception at Middleburgh, and his Speech upon that occasion. 8vo. 1704.
- 4. The Marquis of Clanricarde's Memoirs, containing several original Papers and Letters of King Charles II. Queen Mother, the Duke of York, &c. relating to the Duke of Lorrain, and the Irish Commissioners, 1722. 8vo.
- The same probably which afterwards ornamented the House of Lords.

audiences of ambassadors hath been used for magnificence in the banquetting-house, (as in Cromwell's usurpation,) and wherein were wrought the living portraitures of the chiefest commanders in that service. On a time a captain who highly prized himselfe and his valour, in that naval fight, coming to court and missing his picture therein, complained of the injury to his friend, professing of himselfe that he merited a place there as well as some therein remembred, for that he was engaged in the middle of the fight. 'Be content, (said his friend) thou hast been an old pyrate, and art reserved for another hanging.'

"Dr. Preston was the greatest pupil-monger in England in man's memory, having sixteen fellowcommoners, most heires to faire estates, admitted in one yeare in Queen's Colledge, and provided convenient accommodations for them. As William the popular Earl of Nassau, Prince of Orange, was said to have won a subject from the King of Spain to his own party, every time he put off his hat, so it was commonly said in the colledge that every time Mr. Preston plucked off his hat to Dr. Davenant, the master, he gained a chamber or study for one of his pupils; among whom one Chambers, a Londoner, was eminent for his learning. Being afterwards chosen himself master of Emanuel College, he removed thither with most of his pupils; and when it was much admired where all these should find lodging in that colledge which was so full already—one replyed, 'Mr. Preston will carry Chambers along with him.'

. " It is the rule general in arms that the playner

the ancienter, and so consequently the more honourable. To this purpose a memorable gentleman, the beginning of whose gentry might easily be remembred for its late rise, was mocking at the plain coat of an ancient Esquire: to whom the Esquire returned—' I must be fain to wear the coat which my great, great, great, great grandfather left me; but had I had the happiness to have bought one, as you did, it should have been guarded after the newest fashion.'

"King James first coined his 22 shillings piece of gold, called Jacobusses; where on his head he wore a crown. After that he coined his 20 shillings, and wore the laurel instead of the crown. Upon which mutation Ben Johnson said pleasantly, 'that poets being always poor, bayes were rather the emblem of wit than of wealth, since King James no sooner began to wear them, but he fell two shillings in the pound in publique valuation.'

"One was friendly telling Benjamin Johnson of his great and excessive drinking continually. 'Here's a grievous clutter and talk (quoth Benjamin) concerning my drinking, but here's not a word of that thirst which so miserably torments me day and night."

T. P.

ART. CCCXII. "The Memoirs of the Honourable Sir John Reresby, Bart. late Governor of York. Containing several private and remarkable transactions, from the Restoration to the Revolution inclusively. Published from his Original Manuscript. London: Printed for Samuel Harding,

Bookseller, on the Pavement in St. Martin's Lane. 1734. 8vo."

THE following is an extract of the preface.

" The reader, we believe, will be convinced that Sir John (Reresby) was a person very equal to the task he undertook: and having such opportunities of prving, as it were, into the hearts of the greatest ministers and princes of his time, it had been unpardonable in him to have refrained from communicating the many important matters he so assuredly knew. The reader will, we hope, find in him an impartiality rarely met with in writers, who have been like him, of a party; for, being a man of the strictest honour, and nicest conscience, he, it seems. thought it as unjust not to applaud an enemy for any good he had done, as weak not to accuse a friend when, through human frailty, he happened to deserve it. This, and what goes before, might be sufficient to be speak the reader in his favour, even though he had related no fact but such as had been an hundred times represented before this appearance of his book: but, as he abounds with things new, or, what is the same, with matters known to very few living, and which will much assist us in forming a right idea of the times he lived in, he must claim a greater share of attention, and we flatter ourselves with the approbation of the public for our thus retrieving him from the recesses of privacy."

It appears by these Memoirs that Sir John Reresby was a staunch loyalist, and likewise a great egotist; they are, however, written in a lively, pleasant style, but abound more in court anecdote than in political history, although some remarkable occurrences of

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the latter description are here placed in a clearer point of view than in any preceding publication.

ART. CCCXIII. A Brief Examination of the Roll of Battle Abbey; with a copy of that Roll, containing the names of those who are supposed to have accompanied William the Conqueror to England.

In a former Article of this volume, in my account of Du Chesne's Scriptores Normanni, I promised the Disquisition which I now insert.

A Table pretending to contain the names of those who came over with William the Conqueror of England, was formerly suspended in the Abbey of Battle in Sussex, with the following superscription:

Dicitur a bello Bellum locus hic, quia bello Angligenæ victi sunt hic in morte relicti: Martyris in Christi festo cecidere Calixti: Sexagenus erat sextus millesimus annus Cum pereunt Angli, stella monstrante Cometa.

To this list we hear vain persons making perpetual references for proof of the antiquity of their families, and even authors to this day occasionally cite it. Holinshead and Stow have both printed copies of it, but so variant from each other, that the former consists of 629 names; the latter of 407 only. Fuller, in his "Church-History," p. 155—161, has reprinted both in opposite columns; and the learned Andrew Du Chesne, in the Appendix to his Collection of the Historians of Normandy, has inserted a copy which agrees mostly with Stow's.

Yet nearly two centuries ago the learned Camden, who excelled as much in the depth and extent of his knowledge as in the elegance of his taste and his language, and though one of our earliest, was surely the most judicious of our antiquaries, pronounced, that "whosoever considereth it well, shall find it always to be forged, and those names to be inserted, which the time in every age favoured, and were never mentioned in the notable Record of Domesday *."

I shall here insert the copy printed by Du Chesne, from the communication of Camden, but reduced into a more exact alphabetical order, accompanied by remarks, which are anticipated for the sake of avoiding a tiresome repetition of the names, but with a reservation of my main arguments till the conclusion of the list.

Roll of Battle Abbey, with Remarks.+

- 1. Abel. A name which has not a very genuine sound, as a surname.
- 2. Akeney.
- 3. * Albini. Nigel de Albini, ancestor of the ancient Earls of Arundel of that name.
- 4. Amonerdoille.
- 5. Augenoun. Probably the same as Argentoun.
- 6. Angilliam.
- 7. Archer.
- * Arcy. Ancestor of the Lords D'Arcy, Earls of Holderness.
- 9. * Argentoun.
- Camden's Remains, p. 153, 6th edit. Lond. 1657, 4to.
- † The names to which the asterisk is prefixed, are in Domesday Book.

- Lords Arundel of Wardour. 10. * Arundell.
- 11. Asperemound.
- 12. Aspervile.
- 13. Avenant.
- 14. Audley. See postea.
- 15. * Aumerle. Albemarle.
- 16. Augers. Aungier.
- 17. Bandy.
- 18. Banistre. Perhaps Balister or Balistarius.
- 19. Barbason, Intended probably for Brabazon.
- 20. Barbayon, \$
- 21. Bardolph. A family who do not seem to have risen into notice till the reign of Hen. II.
- 22. Barchampe. Probably a corruption for Beauchamp.
- 23. Barnevalle.
- 24. Barrett.
- 25. Barre.
- Intended, no doubt, for Bartie; a name 26. Barte. of no note till the reign of the Tudors.
- 27. Basset. A family whom, from the silence of Domesday book, I strongly suspect, though of great note, not to have come to England till some years after the Conquest.
- 28. Bawdewyne. Not at this time a surname.
- 29. Baylife.
- 30. Bayous. Odo, Bishop of Bayeux?
- 31. * Beauchamp. One of the powerful attendants of the Conqueror, whose family history would fill volumes.
- 32. Beauper.
- 33. Beer.

- 34. * Beke. Settled at Eresby in Lincolnshire, from whose heiress came the Willoughbys of Eresby.
- 35. Belasyse. A name which, though ancient, is understood to be of English local origin.
- 36. Belefrown.
- 37. Belhelme.
- 38. Belknape.
- 39. Belomy. I suppose, meant for Bellamy.
- 40. * Belot. A name of early note in Dorsetshire and Lincolnshire.
- 41. Beaufort.
- 42. * Berners. Lord of Eversdon in Cambridgeshire, temp. W. Conq.
- 43. Bertevyley,44. * Berteville,Breteville,
- 45. Bertine. Perhaps this may be intended for
- Burton.
- 46. * Bertram. Barons in Northumberland.
- 47. * Bigot. Earls of Norfolk.
- 48. Blundel.
- 49. Blundell.
- 50. * Blunt. A great Norman family of real antiquity, of which branches are surviving at Sodington in Worcestershire, and Mapledurham, in Oxfordshire, to this day.
- 51. Bodyt.
- 52. * Bohun. A high and illustrious name, Earls of Hereford, &c.
- 53. Bolesur.

- 56. Bonylayne.
- 57. Boteler. An official name. Hugh Pincerna occurs in Domesday Book.
- 58. Batville.
- 59. Bowlers.
- 60. Bowser. Probably Bourchier, a great family, but who do not seem to be traced higher than the time of Edw. III.
- 61. * Brahus. Braose, a great baronial family of Bramber in Sussex, &c.
- 62. Brand.
- 63. Brasard.
- 64. Braunche.
- 65. Braybuf. Perhaps Braybroc.
- 66. Bret.
- 67. * Breton. Several of the name of Brito occur in Domesday book.
- 68. Broune. A name, I suspect, of long subsequent date.
- 69. Broyleby.
- 70. Buffard.
- 71. Bulmere. Of early consequence in the North.
- 72. Burdet. A family of undoubted antiquity.
- 73. Burden.
- 74. Burgh. See posten.
- 75. Bures.
- 76. Burnel. A baronial family whose antiquity is witnessed by Dugdale.
- 77. Buschell.
- 78. Bussevile. This may be meant for Bosville.
- Bushey. Rob. de Buci occurs in Domesday book, as does Roger de Busli.

- 80. Butrecourt. Perhaps Botetourt, or Buteturt. See Dugd. Bar.
- 81. Byseg. Perhaps Biset, a family of some note in the reign of K. Stephen.
- 82. Camois, a baronial family, temp. Hen.
- 83. Camnine.
- 84. Canville. Camvile. See Dugd. Bar. 1. 527.
- 85. * Carbonell.
- 86. Carew. See postea.
- 87. Cateray.
- 88. Chamberlaine. Camerarius, an official name, of which several occur in Domesday book.
- 89. Chambernoune. Champernon.
- 90. Champeney.
- 91. * Chaney. Ralph de Caineto came into England with the Conqueror.
- 92. Chantelowe. Perhaps Cantilupe. See Dug. Bar.
- 93. Chereberge.
- 94. Charles. Qu. Calgi, or Cailli, which occurs in Domesday book?
- 95. Chaucer.
- .96. Chaunduyt.
- 97 Chaundos. See Dugd. Bar. I. 502. Does not appear in Domesday book, though Rob. de Ch. certainly came over in the Conqueror's reign. See postea.
- 98. Chaunville. Probably the same as Camville.
- 99. Chawent.
- 100. Chawnis.
- 101. Chawmont.

- 102. Chawns.
- 103. Chaworth. Patric de Cadurcis, or Chaworth, lived in the Conqueror's reign. See Dugd. B.
- 104. Chayters.
- 105. Cherecourt. Qu. Crevequeur?
- 106. Cheyne, 107. Cheynes, See Cheney.
- 108. Cholmlay. See postea.
- 109. Clarell.
- 110. Claremaus.
- 111. Clervaile.
- 112. Clereney.
- 113. Clyfford. See postea.
- 114. Colet.
- 115. Colvile. Dugdale mentions as a baronial family, temp. K. Stephen.
- 116. Conell.
- 117. Coniers. Dugdale also traces this family to the time of K. Stephen.
- 118 Constable.
- 119 * Corbet. Roger, son of Corbet held twentyfour lordships in Shropshire, temp. W. Conq. See Dugd. Bar.
- 120. Corbine.
- 121 Corleville.
- 122 * Coucy. Curcy. Rich. de Curcy. See Dug. B.
- 123 Couderay.
- 124 Courtenay. See postea.
- 125. Cressy. See Dug. B.
- 126. Cribet.
- 127. Curly.
- 128. Cursen. Curzon, a very ancient family.
- 129. Dabernoun.

- 130. Dakeney.
- 131. Damry. Probably Damory. See Dug. Bar. II. 100.
- 132. Daniell.
- 133. Danway. Daunay. See Dug. B.
- 134. Darell.
- 135. Dauntre.
- 136. Daveros. Devereux.
- 137. Davers.
- 138. Deauvile. Deivell. See Dug. B.
- 139. De Hewse. Qu Herman de Drewes, mentioned in Domesday B.?

All these names speak for

- 140. De La Bere.
- 141. De La Hill.
- 142. De La Lind.
- 143. De La Planche. themselves as to their origin.
- 144. De La Pole.
- 145. De La Vere.
- 146. De La Warre. See Dug. B.
- 147. De La Ward. Ibid.
- 148. De La Watche.
- 149. De Liele. * L'Isle. Dug. B.
- 150. Denyse.
- 151. Darcy. D'Arcy. See before.
- 152. Desuye. Desny, or Disney.
- 153. Devaus. De Vaux. See Dug. B.
- 154. Dine. Qu. * Dive?
- 155. Disard.
- 156. Dispenser. Rob. De-Spencer was steward to the Conqueror.
- 157. * Divry. D'Ivery. See Lovel.
- 158. Donyngsels. D'Odyngsels.
- 159. Druell.

- 160. * Engayne. Richard Engayne, the head of a baronial family occurs in Dom. B. and Dug. B.
- 161. Escriols. Criol, great Kentish Barons, but apparently not as early as W. Conq. See Dug. B.
- 162. Estrange. See postea.
- 163. Estutaville. Stuteville. Rob. de Stoteville lived temp. W. Conq. See Dug. B.
- 164. Esturney. * Sturmy.
- 165. Evers, or Ever, a local name from Evre, or Iver, Bucks, temp. Hen. III.
- 166. Faconbridge. Fauconberg, a great Yorkshire family, probably of later date, at least as to the name. See Dug. B.
- 167. Fanecourt.
- 168. Faunville.
- 169. Fibert.
- 170. Filioll.
- 171. Finer.
- 172. Fitz-Allan. Fitzalan, a name taken temp. Hen. I. by Wm. son of Alan, Lord of Oswaldstre, com. Salop. See postea.
- 173. Fitz-Brown. Meant, I suppose, for Fitz-bruen.
- 174. Fitz-Herbert. Herbert Fitzherbert was living 5 Steph. See Dug. B.
- 175. Fitz-Hugh. Dugdale says this name was not appropriated till Ed. III's reign Dug. Bar. 1.402.
- 176. Fitz John. This name seems to have been first taken by John Fitz John Fitz Geffrey, temp. Hen. III. He was one of the Mandeville family. Dug. Bar. 1. 706. See also Fitzpain and Vesey.
- 177. Fitz-Maurice.
- 178. Fitz-Marmaduke.
- 179. Fitz-Pain. Robert Fitzpain son of Pain Fitz

John, brother of Eustace Fitz John, ancestor of the Vescies, both sons of John de Burgo, surnamed Monoculus, first took this name. Dug. Bar. I. 572, 90. Which is a good instance how little surnames were fixed at this time.

- 180. Fitz-Philip.
- 181. * Fitz-Rauffe. See Dug. Bar. I. 510, 678, 769.
- 182. Fitz-Robert.
- 183. Fitz-Roger.
- 184. Fitz-Thomas.
- 185. Fitz-Urcy. Fitz-Urse.
- 186. Fitz-Walter. This name seems to have been first exclusively appropriated to Robert Fitz-walter, a great Baron temp. K. John, son of Walter Lord of Dunmou, who died 10 Ric. I., son of Robert, fifth son of Richard Fitz-Gilbert (or de Tunbridge, or de Clare) to whom the Conqueror granted 175 Lordships. Dug. B.
- 187. Fitz-William. First appropriated temp. Hen. II. Dug. Bar. II. 105.
- 188. Fitz-Waren. This name could not be taken earlier than the time of Hen. I. by Fulk, son of Guarine de Meez, sometimes called Fulco Vicecomes. Dug. Bar. 1. 443.
- 189. Foke.
- 190. Folville.
- 191. Formay.
- 192. Formiband.
- 193. Freville. Was of note temp. Hen. III. Dug. Bar. II. 102.
- 194. Frison.
- 195. Furnivale. See postea.

- 196. Gamages. Gamage.
- 197. Gargrave.
- 198. Gascoigne.
- 199. * Gaunt. Gilbert de Gant was son of Baldwin, Earl of Flanders, and nephew to the Conqueror. Several of this family came over with William. Dug. Bar. I. 400, &c.
- 200. Glaunville. Ralph de Glanville lived temp.W. Conq. Dug. Bar. I. 423.
- 201. Golofer.
- 202. Gover. I suppose Gower.
- 203. Gracy.
- 204. Gray. The first mention of this family in public record is temp. Ric. I. Dug. Bar. I. 709.
- 205. Graunson. Grandison. See p. 23.
- 206. Gurdon. Perhaps Gernon.
- 207. Gurly.
- 208. Hameleyn. Perhaps Hanselyn, or * Alselyn. See Dug. B.
- 209. Hamound. Hamo, not then a surname.
- 210. Hansard.
- 211. Harcoud. Harcourt is said to have come over with the Conqueror and returned to Normandy. He was ancestor to Lord Harcourt.
- 212. Harewell.
- 213. * Hastings. Of palpable local origin in England
- 214. Haulay. Hawley.
- 215. Hecket.
- 216. Herne. Heron, a Baron in Northumberland, temp. K. John. Dug. B.
- 217. Husie. Hussey. Hoese. See Dug. Bar. 1.622.
- 218. Janville. Geneville.
- 219. Jarden. Jordan.

- 220. Jasperville.
- 221. Jay.
- 222. Karre. Carev.
- 223. Karron. Carew.
- 224. Kyriell. See Criol.
- 225. Lastelles. Lascelles of Yorkshire. Dug. Bar. II. 6.
- 226. Latomere. Latimer. Dug. B.
- 227. Lave. Qu. Lane? or * Laci?
- 228. Le Despenser. See Dispenser.
- 229. Le Mare. Delamare. Dug. Bar. II. 28.
- 230. * Le Scrope. A great and numerous family of long continuance. Dug. B.
 - 231. Le Strange. See postea.
 - 232. Level. Qu. Ledet? Dug. Bar. I. 736.
 - 233. Levony.
 - 234. Le Wawse. Vaux. See De Vaux.
 - 235. * Lindsey. Lindesey, or Limesei. See Dug. Bar. I. 769.
 - 236. Lislay. Lisle. See before.
 - 237. Litterile. Probably the same as Lutterell.
 - 238. Logenton.
 - 239. Longspes. William Earl of Salisbury, temp. K. John, was surnamed Longspe from his long sword. He was supposed to be a Talbot, and procured his Earldom by marrying Ela, heiress of William De Ewrus, (or Salisbury) Earl of Salisbury. Dug. B.
 - 240. Longvaile. } Longueville.
 - 241. Logeville.
 - 242. Lonschampe. Longchamp. Hugh de Longchamp was Lord of Wilton, co. Heref. t. Dug. B. Hen. l.
 - Luttrell. Dug. Bar. I. 724. 243. Loterell.
 - 244. Loveday.

- 245. Lov. Qu. * Loges?
- 246. Lucy. First occurs in Records, temp. Hen. I. Dug. B.
- 247. Mainard.
- 248. Mainwaring, or Mesnilwarin. Richard de Mesnilwaren was one of the Barons of Hugh Lupus, Earl Palatine of Cheshire, temp. W. Conq. Dug. Bar. I. 35.
- 249. Malebranche.
- 250. Malherb.
- 251. Malemaine. Malmains.
- 252. Malevile.
- 253. Malory.
- 254. * Manduit. Mauduit. A great family. Dug. Bar. 1. 398.
- 255. Manley. A corruption probably for Mauley.
- 256. * Mantell.
- 257. Marmilon. Probably * Marmion. Rob. Marmion had a gift of Tamworth from W. Conq. Dug. Bar. I. 375.
- 258. Marteine. Martin de Tours, a Norman, won the territory of Kemeys, co. Pembr. Bar. I. 729.
- 259. Mayell. Qu. Meinell? Dug. Bar. II. 120.
- 260. Maule. 261. Mauley. See postea.
- 262. Mautravers. Maltravers. Dug. Bar. II. I01.
- 263. Menpincoy. Qu. Montpincon?
- 264. Merke. Q. Merle, or Morley?
- 265. Mesni-le-Villers.
- 266. * Montagu.
- 267. Mantalent. Q. Montault? Dug. Bar. I. 527.
- 268. Mountbocher.
- 269. Morell.

- 270. Moribray. Qu. Moubray?
- 271. Morley. Dug. Bar. II. 26.
- 272. Mortmain. Probably * Mortimer. Ralph de Mortimer continually occurs in Domesd. B. See this great family's history in Dug. Bar.
- 273. * Morton. Macy de Moritania occurs in Domesd. B.
- 274. Morville.
- 275. Mountmortin.
- 277. Mountney. Probably Munchensi. Dug. Bar. I. 561.
- 278. Muffet.
- 279. Murres. Morris.
- 280. * Musard. Hascoit Musard had great possessions temp. W. Conq. Dug. Bar.
- 281. Muschamp. Dug. Bar. 1. 557.
- 282. Muse. Meus.
- 283. Musgrave. Dug. Bar. II. 153.
- 284. * Musgros. Roger de Mucelgros occurs in Dom. B.
- 285. Myners.
- 286. Neele. Nigellus Medicus occurs in Dom. B.
- 287. Neville. Geffrey de Neville the ancestor of this once princely family is not mentioned in Dom. B. but he is said to have been Admiral to the Conqueror. Dug. Bar.
- 288. Newborough. Roger de Newburgh is not mentioned in Dom. B. and therefore is supposed not to have acquired the Earldom of Warwick till the latter part of the Conqueror's reign. Dug. Bar. I. 68.
- 289. Newmarche. Bernard Newmarch, a follower of the Conqueror, was a witness of one of that

king's charters to the monks of Battle: but does not occur in Dom. B. Dug. Bar. I. 435.

- 290. Norbet.
- 291. Norece. Norris.
- 292. Normanville.
- 293. Norton.
- 294. Olibef. Probably Oiley or *D'Oiley. See Dom. B. and Dug. Bar. I. 459.
- 295. Olifaunt.
- 296. Oryoll. Qu. Crioll?
- 297. Otenell. Otburville, or Auberville.
- 298. Oysell.
- 299. Pampilion.
- 300. Patine. Perhaps Peyton.
- 301. Peche. Dug. Bar. 1. 676.
- 302. Pecy. * Percy. Dug. Bar.
- 303. Pekeney. Qu. Pinkney. Dug. Bar. I. 556.
- 304. Pericord. 305. Pericount. Qu. Pierrepoint?
- 306. Perot.
- 307. Pershale.
- 308. Pervinxe.
- 309. Picot.
- 310. * Pimeray. Pomerai. Dug. Bar. I. 498.
- 311. Poterell. Qu. * Peverell? Ranulph Peverell occurs in Dom. B.
- 312. Pouncy.
- 313. Power.
- 314. Pudsey.
- 315. Punchardon.
- 316. Pynchard.
- 317. Quincy. Dugdale could not discover the oc-

currence of this name till the reign of Hen. II. Dug. Bar. I. 686.

318. Quintine. St. Quintine, I suppose.

319. Reymond.

320. Richmond.

321: Ridell. Occurs in the reign of Hen. I. Dug. Bar. I. 555.

322. Rocheford.

323. Rond.

324. Rose. Ros, or Ross.

326. Russell.

327. Rynel. Probably Reynell.

328. St. Albine. St. Aubyn.

329. St. Barbe.

350. * St. Leger. This name is found in records again very soon after the Conquest.

331. St. Les. St. Liz. Simon de St. Liz came to England with the Conq. Dug. Bar. I. 58.

332. St. Lo.

333. St. More. St. Maur, or Seymour. Milo de St. Maur occurs as a Baron, 18 Joh. Dug. Bar. II. 89.

334. St. Omer.

335. St. Quintin. Hugh de St. Quintin appears in Dom. B.

336. St. Scudamore.

337. Sandeville.

338. Sanford. Rob. Vere, Earl of Oxford, married Alice daughter and heir of Gilbert de Saunford, temp. Hen. IH.

339. Savine.

340. Somervile. Lords of Whichnovie, co. Staff.

- by grant from the Conq. whence came W. Somerville the Poet. Dug. Bar. II. 106.
- 341. Somery. Roger de Sumeri occurs 5 K. Steplf. Dug. Bar. I. 612.
- 342. Souche. Zouche. A great baronial family, but not in Domesday. Dug. Bar. I. 688.
- 343. Taket. Perhaps Tuchet, of which the first mention occurs temp. Ed. I. Dug. Bar. II. 28.
- 344. * Talbot.
- 345. Talibois.
- 346. Tanny. Tani. Rob. de Tani a witness to the Conqueror's Charter to Selby Abbey. Dug. Bar. I. 508.
- 347. Taverner.
- 348. Tavers.
- 349: Tibtote. Walter de Tibtot occurs as early as 6 K. Joh. Dug. Bar. II. 38.
- 350. Tirell.
- 351. * Torell.
- 352. Totels.
- 353. Tows. Perhaps Tours or Towers,
- 354. Traynell.
- 355. Trusbut. William, son of Geffrey Fitzpain, took the name of Trusbut, temp. Hen. I. Dug. Bar. I. 542.
- 356. Truslot. Probably the same.
- 358. Trussell. Rich. Trussell fell at the battle of Evesham, 49 Hen. III. Dug. Bar. II. 143.
- 359. Turbeville. Turberville.
- 360. Turville.
- 361. Tuchet. See Taket.
- 362. * Valence. Valoins. Pet. de. Valoins, a great Baron. temp. W. Conq. Dug. Bar. 1. 441.

- 363. Vancord. Perhaps Valletort. Dug. Bar. I. 522.
- 364. Vacasor. Dug. Bar. II. 19.
- 365. Vendour. Perhaps Venator.
- 366. Verder. Dug. Bar. I. 471.
- 367. * Verdon.
- 368. * Vere. Earls of Oxford.
- 369. Verland.
- 370. * Verlay. Verli.
- 371. Vernois.
- 372. * Vernoun. One of the Barons of the County Palatine of Cheshire.
- 373. Verny. Verney.
- 374. Vilan.
- 375. Umfraville. Robert de Umfraville had a grant from the Conqueror of the Lordship of Riddesdale in Northumberland. Dug. Bar. I. 504.
- Perhaps * Ulketel. 376. Unket.
- 377. Urnall. Perhaps Arnold, or Wahull.
- Hugh Wac appears to have been of 378. Wake. note in the time of Hen. I. Dug. Bar. I. 539.
- 379. Waledger.
- See de la Warde. 380. Warde.
- 381. Wardebus.
- William de Warren was one of the 382. * Warren. most powerful companions of the Conqueror, at the Battle of Hastings. Dug. Bar. I. 73.
- 383. Wate.
- 384. Wateline.
- 385. * Watevile.
- 386. Woly.
- 387. Wyoell. An old Yorkshire family, but does not occur in Domesd. B.

This ignorant and disgusting forgery persons at all acquainted with our old records will require no arguments for rejecting. There seems to be a great number of names in it, which, after making every allowance for the corruptions of time and transcribers, could not, even at any subsequent period to the Conquest, ever have been in use. But perhaps there are many not habituated to travel in the dull and thorny paths of antiquity, who will not be displeased to be furnished with a few digested observations, in addition to the remarks already given, which will enable them to form a judgment of the authenticity of this often-cited memorial.

These observations I shall divide into two heads.

I. Proofs of insertion of names that could not be known in England till long afterwards. II. Proofs of omission of several of the great names, which persons known to have accompanied the Conqueror, then bore: not to insist on the great variation of the different copies of this roll, because these remarks will apply to all: otherwise it might be replied, that the Roll itself may be genuine, though some of the copies should be found to be interpolated.

First then I shall give proofs of insertion, 1st, of families who did not come to England till a subsequent period; and 2dly, of surnames which were not adopted till the lapse of some ages after the Conquest; and that of such, the greater part of the list is composed.

I. Among those in subsequent reigns, drawn hither from the continent by alliances, by the favour of our Norman kings, or by the hopes of fortune (whom Dugdale and others assert to have been very numerous) the name of Courtnay appears in this list; yet this family is recorded not to have come hither till the reign of Henry II. * and at any rate could not have been in England twenty years after the Conquest, for they are not mentioned in Domesday Book. † So the great baronial house of Strange, of whom, long after the Norman accession, "it is said that at a Justs held in the Peke of Derbyshire at Castle-Peverell, where, among divers other persons of note, Oweyn Prince of Wales, and a son of the King of Scots were present, there were also two sons of the Duke of Bretainy, and that the younger of them being named Guy, was called Guy Le Strange, from whom the several families of the Stranges did descend t." Peter de Mauly was a Poictovin, brought over by King John to murder his nephew Prince Arthur. & Girard de Furnival came out of Normandy as late as the reign of Ric. I.; and being in the Holy Land with that King in the third year of his reign was at the siege of Acon. | Otto de Grandison, the first of that name here, in the reign of Hen. III. is called by Leland "Nobilissimus Das Ottho de Grandisono in Burgundia Direcesis Lausenensis, ubi castrum de Grandisono est situm firmis saxis." ** Of the same reigh Peter de Genevile, (or Janvile) is called " Peter de

^{*} Dagd. Bar. I. 634. Monast. Angl. I. 786, and Cleveland's Geneal. Hist. of the Courtnays. See also Gibbon's D. and P. of the Roman Emp.

[†] So in Holinshead's copy Beaumont, who came to England only with Isabel wife of Edw. II. So Comyn in the same.

[‡] Dugd. Bar. I. 663. § Ibid. 733. | Ibid. 725.

Geneva," which I think speaks his immediate foreign origin.

Having given a specimen of the subsequent transmigration hither of some families, from the positive testimony of historians, I will now give a list of some, of whom the silence of Domesday Book affords the strongest negative evidence. It must however be first observed, that three or four names appear by good evidence to have been attendants of the Conqueror, though not inserted in Domesday Book. This seems to have been the case with Simon de St. Liz, and with Geffrey de Nevile, who is said to have been Admiral to the Conqueror; and the Somerviles who had a grant of the Lordship of Whichnour in Staffordshire, on a singular tenure. At any rate this occurred in the case of Roger de Mowbray, according to Ord. Vitalis, and of Bernard Newmarch, and Robert de Chandos, upon the high authority of the Monasticon. But there were some, I believe, who after the battle of Hastings returned home, and again after the lapse of some years came hither, and received the Conqueror's bounty. These few exceptions, however, prove the strength of the general inference. If many had been here, who were not registered in Domesday Book, their names would have oftener occurred in other records.

The negative evidence therefore is strong against the following names.

Basset, word Pincerna in Dom.
Bonville, B.]
Boteler, [indeed this name Bourchier,
is recorded under the Bulmer,

Burnel, Hussey. Botetourt. Lascelles. · Biset, Latimer, Camois, Longchamp, ' Camville, Lucy, Chaworth. Luttrell. Colville. Meinill, Convers, Quincy, Damory, Ridel. De Vaux, St. Maur. Crioll, Somery, Stuteville. Zouche. Fauconberg, Tibtot. Glanville, Touchet,

Gray, Wake, and others.

These great Norman names, which all appear in the Roll, but were not recorded as holders of property twenty years afterwards, either had not, at the time when Domesday was compiled, assumed these surnames, or what is more probable had not then come over. For very quickly afterwards they appear in full baronial rank and property.

If this observation operates against these illustrious names, how much more strongly will it apply to the obscure ones, which remain.

Secondly, I now come to the insertion of surnames of later date, which must lead me somewhat into the history of their origin. Camden says, "about the year of our Lord 1000, surnames began to be taken up in France: but not in England till about the time of the Conquest, or a very little before, under King Edward the Confessor, who was all frenchified.

Yet in England, certain it is, that as the better gont even from the Conquest by little and little took surnames, so they were not settled among the common people fully, until about the time of Edward the Second; but still varied according to the father's name, as Richardson if his father were Richard; Hodgeson, if his father were Roger, or in some other respect, and from thenceforth began to be established (some say by statute) in their posterity.*

"Perhaps this may seem strange to some Englishmen and Scottishmen, who, like the Arcadians, think their surnames as ancient as the moon, or at least to reach many an age beyond the Conquest. But they which think it most strange, I doubt, will hardly find any surname which descended to posterity before that time.

"As for myself I never hitherto found any hereditary surname before the Conquest, neither any that I know: and yet both I myself, and diverse, whom I know, have pored and puzzled upon many an old record and evidence to satisfy ourselves herein: and for my part I will acknowledge myself greatly indebted to them that will clear this doubt.

"But about the time of the Conquest, I observed the very primary beginning as it were of many surnames, which are thought very ancient, when as it may be proved, that their very lineal progenitors have other names within these six hundred years. Mortimer and Warren are accounted names of great antiquity, yet the father of the first Roger, surnamed

^{*} Camden's Rem. chapt. on Surnames.

"de Mortimer," was "Walterus de Sancto Martino," which Walter was brother to William who had assumed the surname "de Warrena." He that first took the surname of Mowbray (a family very eminent and noble) was Roger son of Nigel de Albini; which Nigel was brother to William de Albini, progenitor to the ancient Earls of Arundel," &cc. *

The name of Clifford, which appears in the Battle-Abbey-Roll, and has belonged to a family one of the most illustrious and of the latest continuance of any in the kingdom, and which in truth came over with the Conqueror, was yet itself first adopted at a subsequent period. Twenty years after the Conquest, Walter and Drogo (viz. Dru) are recorded in Domesday book, with no other designation than as "the sons of Ponz" a Norman. They had a brother Richard, called "Richard de Pwns," who obtained of Hen. I. the cantref of Bychan, and castle of Lhanymdhry in Wales, and with the consent of Maud his wife, and Simon his son, was a benefactor to the Priory of Malvern in Worcestershire. This Simon was founder of the Priory of Clifford in Herefordshire, and his brother Walter first called himself after the castle of that name, about the time of Hen. II.; for it appears by the unquestionable evidence of the "Monasticon Anglicanum" that by the name of "Walter son of Richard, son of Ponce," he made a gift to the canons of Haghmen in Shropshire, + and afterwards by the name of "Walter de Chifford," I gave to the nuns of Godstow in Oxford-

^{*} Ibid. † Monast. Angl. Vol., II. 48 a. n. 10 & 20. ‡ Ibid. 884, b. n. 50.

chire, for the health of the soul of Margaret his wife, and of Rosamond his daughter, (so well known as "the fair Rosamond") his mill at Framton in Gloucestershire. This person was living as late as 17 King John.*

Audley, the next instance, I shall cite in the words "That this family of Aldithely, vulof Dugdale. garly called Audley, came to be great and eminent, my ensuing discourse will sufficiently manifest: but that the rise thereof was no higher than King John's time, and that the first who assumed this surname was a branch of that ancient and noble family of Verdon, (whose chief seat was at Alton castle in the northern part of Staffordshire) I am very inclinable to believe; partly, by reason that Henry had the inheritance of Aldithely given him by Nicholas de Verdon, who died in 16 Hen. III. or near that time; and partly, for that he bere for his arms the same ordinary as Verdon did, viz. Frette, but distinguished with a large canton in the dexter part of the shield, and thereon a cross pate: so that probably the ancestor of this Henry first seated himself at Alditheley: for that there hath been an ancient mansion there, the large moat, northwards from the parish church there (somewhat less than a furlong and upon the chief part of a fair ascent) does sufficiently testify." †

Hamo, a great Kentish lord, the ancestor of the Crevequeurs, did not himself assume that name, being written in Domesday Book "Hamo Vicecomes," because he was Sheriff of Kent for life, and as late

^{*} Dugd Bar. I. 335, 336,

[†] Dug. Bar. I. 746.

as IIII, 12 Hen. II. he writes himself in a deed "Hamo Cancii Vicecomes et Henrici regis Anglorum dapifer," &c.*

Of the name of Cholmondeley, or Cholmley, Dugdale says, that it was "assumed from the lordship of Cholmundeley in Cheshire, where Sir Hugh de Cholmundeley, Kt. son and heir of Robert second son to William, Baron of Malpas, fixed his habitation, as the Egertons descended from Philip, second son to David Baron of Malpas, who were then seated at Egerton also did; which practice was most usual in those elder times, as by multitudes of examples might be instanced †." This must of course have happened generations after the battle of Hastings.

De La Pole is a mere English local name, which first came into notice through William de la Pole a merchant at Hull, in the time of Edw. III. whose son William, also a merchant, was father of Michael, created Earl of Suffolk, (9 Ric. II.);

The great family of Ros of Hamlake and Belvoir took their name in the time of Hen. I. from the lordship of Ros in Holdernesse.

They who assumed the surname of Burgh, or Burke, are descended from William Fitz-Aldelm, steward to Hen. II. and governor of Wexford in Ireland.

So the name of Multon, first taken in the time of Hen. I. by Thomas de Multon from his residence at Multon in Lincolnshire.** Kari, (or Carey) and

Karrow, (or Carrew) derived from the castles of Kari and Carew, in Somersetshire and Pembrokeshire. The name of Fitz-Warren was not taken till the time of Hen.I.; nor Fitz-Walter till that of K. John; nor Fitz-Pain, till the days of Hen. II.; nor Fitz-Hugh, till those of Edw. III.; nor Fitz-Alan till those of Hen. I.; nor Fitzwilliam till those of Hen. II.; * nor Longspe till those of K. John; nor Trusbut, till those of Hen. I.

II. It is probable that by this time my readers will deem the proofs against the authenticity of the Battle Abbey Roll to be sufficient. But the instances of omission are very striking as well as those of interpolation. It is true that those omissions are not, for the most part, in the fuller catalogue printed by Holinshead, but that copy exhibits much additional matter for condemnation.

The copy here given, while it contains a number of barbarous and unintelligible names, omits, among many others to be found in Domesday Book, or other good authorities, the great families of Ferrers, Stafford, Gifford, Mohun, Mallet, Mandeville, Baliot, Salisbury, Speke, Tony, Vesci, Byron, Gernon, Gurnay, Scales, St. Waleri, Montfort, Montgomery, with those of Churchill, Lovet, Lincoln, Pauncefoot, De Salsey, De Rie, De Brioniis, De Romara, De Vipount, De Creon, De Grentemaisnil, Montfitchet, Tatshall †, &c.

^{*} As to these Fitzs, it is true Will. fil. Alan, &c. occur in Domesday Book; but by no means as names of exclusive and hereditary appropriation.

[†] If the Roll of Battle Abbey had been genuine, it must have received confirmation from that authentic record of the reign of Hen.

11. the Liber Niger Scaccarii, published by Hearne; but no two registers can less agree.

of surnames in England, will do well to study the chapter, on this subject by Camden, inserted in his Remains, of which the following is an imperfect epitome.

Epitome of Camden's Chapter on the origin of Surnames.

I. The most surnames in number, the most ancient, and of best account, have been local, deduced from places in Normandy, Britany, France, or the Netherlands, being either the patrimonial possessions, or native places of such as served the Conqueror, or came in after, as from Normandy, Mortimer, Warren, Albini, Percy, Gournay, Devereux, St. Maure, Nevile, Ferrers, &c.: from Britany, St. Aubin, Morley, Dinant, Lascelles, &c.: from France, Courtnay, St. Leger, Villiers, Beaumont, &c.: from the Netherlands, Loraine, Gaunt, Bruges, &c. and in later ages, Dabridgcourt, Robsert, Mainy, Grandison, &c.

II. Those names, which had LE set before them, were not at all local, but given in other respects; as Le Marshall, Le Latimer, (that is, interpreter) Le Dispencer, Le Soroop, Le Savage, Le Vavasour, Le Blund, Le Molineux. As they also which were never noted with DE or LE, in which number are observed, Giffard, Basset, Arundel, Talbot, Fortescue, Howard, Tirell, &c. And these distinctions with DE, or other with LE, or simply, were religiously observed until about the time of K. Edw. IV.*

* Yet there seems something like an exception in some instances which Camden gives, in another place, of local Norman names, from

- III. Many strangers coming hither were named of their countries: as Breton, Gascoigne, Fleming, Picard, Burgoyne, Germaine, Westphaling, Daneis, &c. And these had commonly LE prefixed in records and writings.
- IV. Names from places in England and Wales infinite: as Clifford, Stafford, Berkeley, Hastings, Hamilton, Lumley, Clinton, Manners, Paulet, Stanhope, Willoughby, Astley, &c.

At a word, all which in English had OF set before them, which in Cheshire and the North was contracted into A.: as Thomas a Dutton, &c. and all which in Latin old evidences have had DE prefixed, were borrowed from places.

Many local names also had AT prefixed to them; as At Wood, &c.

- V. Rivers also have imposed names: as Sur-Teys, Derwent-Water, Eden, &c.
- VI. Many also had names from trees near their habitations: as Vine, Ash, Hawthorn.
- VII. In respect of situation to other places have arisen, North, South, East, West, and likewise Northcote, Southcote, Eastcot, Westcot; and even the names of Kitchen, Lodge, &c.
- VIII. After these local names, the greatest number have been derived from occupations, or professions: as Taylor, Potter, Smith, Archer, &c.
 - IX. Many have been assumed from offices: as'

trees near their habitations: as Coigners, that is, Quince; Zouch, that is, the trunk of a tree; Cursy and Curson, that is, the stock of a Vine; Chesney and Cheyney, that is, Oak; Dauney, that is, Alder, &c.

Chambers, Chamberlaine, Cooke, Steward, Marshall, &c.

X. Likewise from Ecclesiastical functions: as Bishop, Abbot, Monk, Deane, Archdeacon.

XI. Names have also been taken from civil honours, dignities, and estates: as King, Duke, Prince, Lord, Baron, Knight, &c.

XII Others from the qualities of the mind: as Good, Wise, Bold, Best, Sharp, &c.

XIII. From the habitudes of the body, and its perfections and imperfections: as Strong, Armstrong, Long, Low, Little, &c.

XIV. Others in respect of age: as Young, Child, &c.

XV. Some from the time when they were born, as Winter, Summer, Day, Holiday, Munday, &c.

XVI. Some from that which they commonly carried: as Palmer, Longsword, Shakspeare, Wagstaff, &c.

'XVII. Some from parts of the body: as Head, Whitehead, Legg, Foot, &c.

XVIII. Some from garments: as Hose, (Hosatus), Hat, &c.

XIX. Not a few from colours of their complexions: as White, Brown, Green, &c. Rous, that is, red, and Blunt or Blund, that is, flaxen hair, and from these Russell, and Blundell.

XX. Some from flowers and fruits: as Lilly, Rose, Nut, Peach.

XXI. Others from beasts: as Lamb, Lion, Bear. Buck, Roe, &c.

XXII. From fishes: as Playce, Salmon, Herring,

XXIII. Many from birds: as Raven, (Corbet) Swallow, (Arundel) Dove, (Bisset.)

XXIV. From Christian names, without change: as Francis, Herbert, Guy, Giles, Lambert, Owen, Godfrey, Gervas, &c.

XXV. Besides these, many surnames are derived from those Christian names which were in use about the time of the Conquest: as Achard, Aucher, Bagot, Bardolph, Dod, Dru, Godwin, Hamon, Hervye, Howard, Other, Osborn, Pain, Picot, &c.

XXVI. And not only these from the Saxons and Normans, but from many British and Welsh Christian names: as Mervin, Sitsil or Cesil, Caradock, Madoc, Rhud, &c.

XXVII. By contracting or corrupting Christian names: as Terry for Theodoric; Colin and Cole for Nicholas; Elis for Elias, &c.

XXVIII. By addition of S to Christian names: as Williams, Rogers, Peters, Harris.

XXIX. From Nicknames: as Bill; Mill for Miles, Ball for Baldwin, Pip for Pipard, Law for Lawrence, Bat for Bartholomew:

XXX. By adding S to these nicknames: as Robins, Thomas, Dicks, Hicks, &c.

XXXI. By joining KINS and INS to these names: as Dickins, Perkins, Hutchins, Hopkins.

XXXII. Diminutives from these: as Willet, Bartlet, Hewet.

XXXIII. Many more by the addition of SON to the Christian or nickname of the father: as Richardson, Stevenson, Gibson, Watson, &c.

XXXIV: Some have also had names from their mothers: as Mawds, Grace, Emson, &c.

XXXV. In the same sense it continues in those who descended from the Normans: as Fitz-Hugh, Fitz-Herbert, &c. and those from the Irish as Mac-Dermot, Mac-Arti, &c. And so among the Welsh, Ap-Robert, Ap-Harry, Ap-Rice, &c.

XXXVI. The names of alliance have also continued in some for surnames: as R. Le Frere, Le Cosin, &c.

XXXVII. Some names have also been given in merriment: as Malduit for ill-taught; Mallieure, commonly Malyvery, for Malus Leporarius, ill hunting the hare, &c.

"Hereby," says Camden, "some insight may be had in the original of surnames, yet it is a matter of great difficulty to bring them all to certain heads, when as our language is so greatly altered, not only in the old English, but the late Norman; for who knoweth now what these names were, Giffard, Basset, Gernon, Mallet, Howard, Peverell, Paganell or Paynell, Tailboise, Talbot, Lovet, Pancevolt, Turrell, &c. though we know the signification of some of the words?" &c.

It is also difficult to find out the causes of alteration of surnames, which has been very common.

But the most usual alteration proceeded from place of habitation. "As if Hugh of Suddington gave to his second son his manor of Frydon, to his third son his manor of Pantly, to his fourth his wood of Albdy; the sons called themselves De Frydon, De Pantley, De Albdy, and their posterity removed De."

Others took their mother's surname, as Geffrey Fitzmaldred took the name of Nevile; the son of

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Joseline de Lovaine took the name of Percy; Sir Theobald Russell the name of Georges, &c.

Others changed their names to that of a more honourable ancestor, as the sons of Geffrey Fitz-Petre took the name of Mandeville:

Some changed their names to those of the former possessors of the land they obtained, as the posterity of Nigel de Albini took the name of Moubray.

Others in respect of benefits as Mortimer of Richards Castle to Zouche. Others from adoption.

Some have assumed the names of their father's baronies, as the issue of Richard Fitz-Gilbert took the name of Clare.

To conclude. "The tyrant Time, which hath swallowed many names, hath also changed more by contracting, syncopating, curtailing, and mollifying them, as Audley from Aldethelighe, Darell from Le Daiherell, Harrington from Haverington," &c.

The following is the best catalogue I can at present form from authentic evidences of the real companions of the Conqueror in his expedition to England.

"Interfuerunt huic prælio," says Ordericus Vitalis, "Eustachius Boloniæ Comes, Guillelmus Ricardi Ebroicensis Comitis filius, Goiffedus Rotronis Moritoniæ Comitis filius, Guillelmus Osberni filius, Rodbertus Tiro Rogerii de Bellomonte filius, Haimericus Toarcensis præses, Hugo Stabulariorum Comes, Galterius Giphardus, et Radulphus Thoenites: Hugo de Grentemaisnilio, et Guillelmus de Garenna, aliique quamplures militaris præstantiæ fama celebratissimi; & quorum nomina Historiarum

voluminibus inter bellicocissimos commendari deceat. Willelmus vero Dux eorum præstabat eis fortitudine et prudentia. Nam ille nobiliter exercitum duxit, cohibens fugam, dans animos, periculi socius, sæpius clamans ut venirent, quam jubens ire. In bello tres equi sub eo confossi ecciderunt: ter ille intrepidus desiluit, nec diu mors vectoris inulta remansit. Scuta, galeas, et loricas irato mucrone, moramque dedignante, penetravit: clypeoque suo nonnullos collisit, auxilioque multis suorum atque saluti, sicut e contra hostibus perniciei fuit *."

Genuine Catalogue of the Companions of the Conqueror to England.

- 1. Eustace Earl of Boulogne, in Picardy, father to the famous Godfrey of Boulogne.
- 2. William, son of Richard Earl of Evreux in Normandy.
- 3. Godfrey, son of Rotro, Earl of Moritagne.
- 4. William Fitz-Osborne, created Earl of Hereford. He died 1070. He married Adeline, daughter of Roger de Toeni, and was succeeded in the Earldom of Hereford by Roger de Britolio, his third son, whose daughter and coheir Emma married Ralph Guader Earl of Norfolk, whose daughter Amicia married Robert Earl of Leicester.
 - . Robert Tiro, son of Roger de Bellomont, in Normandy, whom Hen. I. advanced to the Earldom of Leicester: "Tyro quidam Nor-

^{*} Ord. Vit. apud Duchesne, p. 501.

manus," says William of Poictiers, "Robertus Rogerii de Bellomonte filius, Hugonis de Melento Comitis ex Adelina sorore nepos et hæres, prælium illo die primum experiens egit quod æternandum esset laude: cum legione, quam in dextro cornu duxit, irruens ac sternens magna cum audacia.*" His great grandson Robert Fitzparnel, Earl of Leicester, who died s. p. 1204, 6 Joh. left two sisters, his coheirs, Amicia wife of Simon de Montfort, and Margaret wife of Sayer de Quincy.

- 6. Haimeric, the President of Tours. "Aquitanus," says William of Poictiers, "linguâ non ignobilior quam dextrâ."
- 7. Hugh de Montfort, whom Ord. Vitalis calls "Stabulariorum comes," son of Thurstan de Bastenbergh, a Norman. His descendant, Simon Montfort, married Amicia, sister and coheir of Robert Fitzparnel Earl of Leicester. The family long remained in Warwickshire.
- 8. Walter Giffard, son of Osborne de Bolebec and Aveline his wife, sister to Gunnora Duchess of Normandy, was soon after his arrival in England advanced to the Earldom of Buckinghamshire. A curious account of his wife Agnes is given by Ordericus Vitalis, pp. 809, 810. His son Walter became 2d Earl of Buckingham, but dying s. p. his great inheritance was shared between his sisters, Rohesia, wife of Richard Fitz-Gilbert, ancestor of the great family of Clare, and Isabel, wife of William Mareschal Earl of Pembroke.

^{*} Guil. Pict. apud Duchesne, p. 202.

- 9. Ralph de Tony was son of Roger, Standard Bearer of Normandy, by Alice, daughter of William Fitz-Osborne. Robert de Tony, his last heir male, died 3 Edw. II., leaving Alice, his sister and heir, wife of Guy Beauchamp Earl of Warwick.
- 10. Hugh de Grentemaisnil, a valiant soldier, had great grants of land in Leicestershire, &c. He died 1094. He was Lord of the Honor of Hinkley. His descendant, Hugh, left a daughter, Petronel, wife of Robert Blanchmains Earl of Leicester, who died 2 Rich. 1.
- William de Warren, afterwards Earl of Surry.
 He died 1089. See Watson's History of this
 family.
- These are all recorded by William of Poictiers and Ordericus Vitalis to have been present at the battle of Hastings. The Conqueror's other companions I must collect from less direct authorities.
- 12. Robert Earl of Moriton, in Normandy, half-brother to the Conqueror. His son and successor, William, died s. p.
- 13. Odo, his brother, Bishop of Bayeux, and afterwards Earl of Kent.
- 14. Walter Earl of Eureux, in Normandy, whose younger son Edward called himself de Sarisburie, and was grandfather of Patric Earl of Salisbury. From hence also came the noble family of Devereux.
- 15. Robert Earl of Ewe, in Normandy, who had a grant of the Honour of Hastings, to whose son,

- Earl William, still greater territories in England were added. Earl Henry, son of the last, died 1139, whose grandson, Earl Henry, left a daughter and heir, Alice, married to Ralph de Ysendon.
- 16. Roger de Montgomery led the middle part of the Conqueror's army at the invasion, was first advanced to the Earldom of Arundel, and afterwards of Shrewsbury. He was succeeded in the English Earldom by his second son Hugh, on whose death the elder brother, Robert, obtained it. His son Talvace did not enjoy this honour, but left two sons, Guy Earl of Ponthieu; John; and two daughters, one married to Juhel, son of Walter de Meduana, the other to William, 3d Earl of Warren, and afterwards to Patric Earl of Salisbury.
 - 17. Alan, son of Eudo Earl of Britanny, commanded the rear of the Conqueror's army, had a grant of the Earldom of Richmond, co. York. The last heiress of this great family married Ralph Lord Basset of Drayton. The family of Zouche sprung from a younger son of this house.
 - 18. Drew Le Brever, a Fleming, to whom the Conqueror granted the territory of Holdernesse; but upon his killing a kinsman of the King, he fled, and this estate was given to Odo Earl of Champaigne, who was grandfather of William le Grosse Earl of Albemarle, whose sole daughter and heir married William de Mandeville Earl of Essex.

- 19. Richard Fitz-Gilbert, son of Gilbert surnamed Crispin, Earl of Brion, in Normandy, gave great assistance in the battle, had a grant of the Castle of Tunbridge in Kent, and other great possessions, of which Clare in Suffolk was one, whence he took the name of Clare. His descendants were Earls of Gloucester and Hertford. Gilbert the last Larl died 7 Ed. II., and his sisters were married to De-Spenser, Audley, and De Burgh.
- 20. Geffrey de Magnaville is said to have hewed down his adversaries on every side at this battle, and received great rewards in lands. His grandson, Geffrey, was advanced to the Earldom of Essex. Geffrey Fitzpiers married the grandaughter of his aunt, who became the heiress.
- 21. William Malet was sent with the slain body of King Harold to see it decently interred. He had the Honour of Eye in Suffolk. The eldest branch soon went out in heiresses; but there is still a male descendant in the person of Sir Charles W. Mallet, who therefore, though an East Indian, eclipses in antiquity almost all our old families.
- 22. Hubert de Rie, who came as Ambassador from Duke William to Edward the Confessor, and was sent back into Normandy after the Conquest. His descendant, Eudo, built the Castle of Colchester, and left an heiress married to William de Mandeville.
- 23. Ralph de Mortimer, one of the chief commanders at the battle. A family well known for their rank and power.

- 24. William de Albini is stated to have come in at the Conquest. His family were Earls of Arundel.
- 25. William and Serlo de Percy came into England with the Conqueror.
- 26. Roger de Moubray came to England with the Conqueror.
- 27. Robert D'Oiley; the same.
- 28. Rob. Fitzhamon, nephew to Duke Rollo; the same. He was Lord of the Honor of Gloucester.
- 29. Bernard Newmarch; the same.
- Gilbert de Montfichet, a Roman by birth, and a kinsman of the Conqueror, fought stoutly at this battle.
- 31. Geffrey de Neville was the King's Admiral on this occasion.
- 32. Robert de Chandos accompanied William from Normandy.
- 33. Eudo, with one Pinco, came over at this time. He took the name of Tatshall.
- 34. So Eugenulf de Aquila.
- 35. So Robert de Brus.
- 36. So Walter Deincourt.
- 37. So Gilbert de Gaunt.
- 38. So Guy de Creon.
- 39. So Ralph de Caineto, or Cheney.
- 40. So Hugh de Gurney.
- 41. So Humphry de Bohun.
- 42. Walter de Laci.
- 43. Ilbert de Laci.
- 44. Geffrey, Bishop of Constance, brother of Roger de Moulbray, was an eminent commander at this battle, though an ecclesiastic.

- 45. Simon de St. Liz, with his brother Garnerius le Rich, came over with the Conqueror.
- 46. Robert Fitz-Harding.
- 47. Walter Bec.
- 48. Sir William de Mohun.
- 49. Hameline de Balun.

ART. CCCXIV. Observations upon the Provinces United. And on the State of France. Written by Sir Thomas Overbury. London. Printed by T. Maxey for Richard Marriot; and are to be sold at his shop in St. Dunstan's churchyard, Fleet street, 1651. Duod. pp. 80.

Annexed to this volume is "the lively portraiture of Sir Thomas Overbury" by S. Pass. Under which are the following lines:

A man's best fortune, or his worst's a wife; Yet I, that knew nor marriage peace nor strife, Live by a good, by a bad one lost my life.

A wife like her I writ, man scarse can wed; Of a false friend like mine man scarce hath read.

These allusions are obvious to every one acquainted with the story of Sir Thomas Overbury. His good "Wife," a poem, has gone through numerous editions. His false friend, Somerset, and his false friend's bad wife, no one can think of, without shuddering!

Overbury was born 1531, and died 13 Sept. 1613. It is very doubtful, whether he was the real author of the above book.

ART. CCCXV. A perfect Collection or Catalogue of all Knights Batchelaurs made by King James since his comming to the Crown of England. Faithfully extracted out of the Records by J. P. Esq. Somerset Herald, a devout servant of the Royal Line.

Cicero ad Atticum. Honor quid nisi Virtus cognita. London, printed for Humphrey Mosely, and are to be sold at his shop at the Prince's Armes in S. Pauls Churchyard, 1660, 8vo. pp. 94. Dedicated to Sir Edward Nicholas.

John Philipot the author of this work died in 1645.

It seems by this Catalogue, that King James made 2323 Knights, of whom 900 were made the first year. "If" says the Editor, "you observe the history of those days, you will find many knighted, who, in the time of the late Queen, had shewed small affection to that king of peace. But he was wise, and best knew how to make up a breach." There is a copy of this in the Library of the Royal Institution, which was formerly Oldys's.

ART. CCCXVI. An Attempt towards recovering an account of the numbers and sufferings of the Clergy of the Church of England, Heads of Colleges, Fellows, Scholars, &c who were sequestered, harrass'd, &c. in the late times of the Grand Rebellion: occasion'd by the ninth chapter (now the second volume) of Dr. Calamy's Abridgment of the Life of Mr. Baxter. Together with an examination of that chapter. By John Walker, M. A. Rector of St. Mary's the More in Excter, and sometime Fel-

low of Exeter College in Oxford. London. Printed by W. S. for J. Nicholson, R. Knaplock, R. Wilkin, B. Tooke, D. Midwinter, and B. Cowse. 1714. Fol.

In this work are many curious particulars of personal history. It was intended to contrast the sufferings of the loyal clergy, with those of the ejected Nonconformists, of whose hardships Dr. Calamy had given a grievous account, with a view to engage the public interest in their favour.

ART. CCCXVII. The History of Philip de Commines, Knight, Lord of Argenton. The Fourth Edition corrected, with Annotations. London. Printed for Samuel Mearne, John Martyn, and Henry Herringman, and are to be sold in Little Britain, St. Paul's Churchyard, and the New Exchange. Fol. 1674. pp. 348.

Commines is an historian very well known and a good companion to Froissart. He was born at Commines in Flanders, 1445, and died at his house of Argenton, in Poictou, 17 Oct. 1509, æt. 64. He was first in the service of Charles, Duke of Burgundy, and afterwards of Lewis XI. of France.

The translator was Thomas Danett, who first published his work in 1596, printed by Arnold Hatfield, for John Norton. Fol.* and dedicated it to Lord Treasurer Burghley.

Danett also published A Continuation of the Historie of France, from the death of Charles the

^{*} Ames, III. 1213.

Eight, where Comines endeth, till the death of Henry the Second. Collected by Tho. Danett, Gent. London. Printed by Tho. East for Thomas Chard. Dedicated to Lord Buckhurst, Lord High Treasurer of England. 1600. 4to. pp. 148.*

The only editions of Commines, mentioned by De Bure, are those of 1648, par Denys Sauvage, Leyde, Elzevier, in 12mo. a beautiful little edition. Again, Paris, Impr. Royale, 1649, in fol. Again, Par M. l'Abbe Lenglet Du Fresnoy. Paris, 1747. 4 vol. in 4to. †

The following editions of Commines are taken from the Bibl. Harl.

- "Cronique & Hist. faicte & composee, par Phelippe de Comines contenant les Choses advenues, durant le Regne du Roy Lovys XI. tant en France, Bourgoyn, Flandres, Arthois, Angleterre, que
 - Ib. II. 1197.
- † I take this opportunity of mentioning (though out of place) in addition to the Account of the Old Spanish Historians of the New World, in this volume, that there is a Translation into English of Antonio de Solis, by Tho. Townsend, 1724. Fol. I add the two following titles on the same subject.
- "The Decades of the New Worlde, or West India, conteyning the Navigations and Conquestes of the Spanyardes, with the particular description of the most ryche and large landes and ilandes lately founde on the West Ocean, perteyninge to the inheritance of the Kings of Spayne, translated out of Latine by Richarde Eden, 1555, 4to.
- "Ferdinando Georges's History of the Spaniards Proceedings in the Conquests of the Indians, and of their Civil Wars, among themselves, from Columbus's first Discovery to these latter times. 1659."

Eden also translated, "The History of Travayle into the West and East Indies, and other countreys, lying either way, towardes the fruitfull and ryche Molucca," &c. finished by Richard Willes. Lond. 1577, 4to. He also translated other works.

Espaigne et Lieux circonvoisins, en Gothique, 1525. Fol.

- "La Meme, reveus & corrigez par Dennis Sauvage.
 Paris. 1552.
- "La Meme, reveus & corrigez sur divers Manuscrits & anciennes Impressions; augmentez de plusieurs Traitez, Contracts, Testaments, autres Actes, & de divers Observations, par Godefroy. Paris, de l'Imprimerie Royale, 1649, Fol."
- "Memoires de Phil. de Comines sur les principaux Faits et gestes de Louys XI. & Charles VIII. Rouen, 1625, 8vo.
- "La Meme, augmentez de plusieurs Traitez, Contracts, Testaments, Actes, & Observations par Godefroy, enrichie de Portraits & augmentee de l'Hist. de Louis XI. connue sous le nom de Chronique Scandaleuse, 4 Tom. 8vo. Bruss. 1706.
 - "Cominæ de Rebus Gestis Ludovici XI. and Caroli Burgundiæ Ducis, ex Gallico facti Latini a Joan. Sleidano. Paris apud Wechel. 8vo. 1545."
 - "La Historia famosa di Monsignor di Argenton delle Guerre & Costumi di Ludovico XI. con la Battaglia & Morte del Gran Duca di Borgogna. Venet. 1544. 8vo."

There was also an edition of the original in black letter, 4to. 1525.

The compiler of the catalogue observes, "De Comines, qui morut en 1509, est le plus sense & le plus judicieux Ecrivain de l'histoire de France; il a ete compare, avec Thucydide, & avec meilleur dans l'Antiquite." He adds of the edition by Godefroy, 1649, that it is incomparable for its correctness, beauty, and selection of notes and proofs. *

* Bibl. Harl. II. 513.

ART. CCCXVIII. Anglorum Speculum; or the Worthies of England, in Church and State. Alphabetically digested into the several Shires and Counties therein contained; wherein are illustrated the Lives and Characters of the most Eminent Persons since the Conquest to this present Age. Also an account of the Commodities and Trade of each respective County, and the most flourishing Cities and Towns therein. London. Printed for John Wright at the Crown on Ludgate Hill, Thomas Passinger at the Three Bibles on London Bridge, and William Thackary at the Angel in Duck Lane. 1684. 8vo. pp. 974.

"The Preface to the Reader.

"Courteous reader, I here present you with an abstract of the lives and memoirs of the most famous and illustrious personages of this realm, since the Conquest to this present time: for order sake I have digested it alphabetically into the several shires and counties contained in this kingdom; which I hope will find a kind acceptance, there being nothing of the same method now extant.

a great way in this matter, but here is included the lives of many more eminent heroes and generous patrons, (which I hope their memory may survive in succeeding ages) this being done with that brevity, which may be more beneficial to the reader. Here you have the original or rise of most of the eminent families in this kingdom.

"Also an epitome of the most material matters in church and state, containing the lives of the most

eminent fathers in the English church, and the most flourishing statesmen in the latter times; also the most famous authors, as well divine as historical; together with the lives of the most memorable persons in the law, mathematicks, geographers, astronomers, poets, &c. which have made this kingdom known throughout the world.

"I need not enlarge, or give any further encomium upon this subject, but refer you to the table first, and then to the book itself, which I hope will find that kind acceptance, that may engage me in some further procedure that may please my countrymen, which I shall always endeavour to do in plainness and brevity to the reader's satisfaction, and in the mean time, am yours to command, G. S."

With the articles already mentioned in this volume on the "Worthies, &c. of England," the present claims an arrangement. The notice for this work is fully supplied by the above preface, which the editor (whose initials I have not discovered) has rather too highly tinted.

J. H.

ART. CCCXIX. The General History of Spain from the first peopling of it by Tubal, till the death of King Ferdinand, who united the Crowns of Castile and Arragon; with a continuation to the death of King Philip III. Written in Spanish, by the R. F. F. John de Mariana. To which are added two Supplements; the First by F. Ferdinand Camargo y Salcedo; the other by F. Basil Varen de Soto; bringing it down to the present reign. The whole translated from the Spanish, by Captain

J. Stevens. London. Printed for R. Sare, F. Saunders, and T. Bennet, 1699. Fol. The History contains pp. 563. The Supplements, pp. 91.

THE reputation of Mariana, the original author of this history, is sufficiently established. It first appeared in Latin, and was dedicated to Philip II. King of Spain: he afterwards translated it into Spanish; and put it under the protection of Philip III. It begins at the first peopling of the world by the posterity of Noah; and is brought down by Mariana to the end of Philip III's reign.

The history is divided into thirty books. The last twenty books comprehend the history of Spain from the time of the invasion made by the Almohades to the death of King Ferdinand, who united the crowns of Castile and Arragon; a period of 303 years.

In the whole work there are, besides matters of fact related candidly and fairly, several political and useful reflections made by the author on several important transactions. To this he has added a compendious supplement from the year 1515 to the year 1621. F. Ferdinand Camargo y Salcedo, Preacher and Historiographer of the order of St. Augustin, has carried the history down to the year 1649; and from thence F. Basil Varen de Soto, once Provincial of the Regular Clergy, has continued it down to the year 1669.*

This translation of Captain Stevens still retains its reputation, and bears a considerable price.

^{*} Memoirs, ut. supr. 1699, Vol. I. p. 565.

ART. CCCXX. The Destruction of Troy, in three The first shewing the founders and foundation of the said city, with the causes and manner how it was sacked and first destroyed by Hercules. The second how it was re-edified, and how Hercules slew King Laomedon, and destroyed it the second time: and of Hercules his worthy deeds and his death. The third how Priamus son of King Laomedon, rebuilded Troy again more strong than it was before: and for the ravishment of Dame Helen, wife to King Menelaus of Greece, the said city was utterly destroyed, and Priamus with Hector and all his sons slain. Also mentioning the rising and flourishing of divers kings and kingdoms, with the decay and overthrow of others. With many admirable acts of chivalry and martial prowess, effected by valiant knights, in the defence and love of distressed Ladies. The eleventh edition, corrected and much amended. London, Printed for T. Passinger, at the Three Bibles on London Bridge. 1684. Small 4to. pp. 439. B. L.

This is a late edition of Caxton's celebrated History of Troy.

"Thus endeth the second book of collections of the histories of Troy. Which books were translated into French out of Latin by the labour of the venerable person Raoulle Feure, priest, as afore is said, and by me unfit and unworthy, translated into the rude English, by the commandment of my redoubted Lady, Dutchess of Burgoine, (sister of Edward IIII.) And forasmuch as I suppose the said two books have not been had before this time

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in our English language: therefore I had the better will to accomplish this present work, that was begun in Bruges, and continued in Gaunt, and finished in Colen in the time of the great divisions as well in the realms of England and France, as in all other places universally through the world, that is to say, in the year of our Lord, one thousand four hundred seventy and one." *

The author adds that the third book had lately been translated into English verse by "the worshipful and religious man John Lidgate, Monk of Bury;" but that he having "now good leisure, being in Colen," had determined "to take this labour in hand" in prose.

"Now thus I am come to the finishing of this present book (the third)—and for as much as I am weary of tedious writing, and worn in years, being not able to write out several books for all gentlemen, and such others as are desirous of the same, I have caused this book to be printed: that being published the more plenteously men's turns may be more easily served." *

The work itself is taken, but with many alterations, additions, and accommodations to the language of romance, from Homer, Virgil, Dares, and Dictys; and is by no means void of interest or entertainment.

P. M.

ART. CCCXXI. Rex Platonicus; sive de potentissimi Principis Jacobi Britanniarum Regis ad

[•] This was the year in which printing was first introduced into England by William Caxton; of whose Recuyel of Troy this is as has been said, a reprint. See Herbert I. 5.

⁺ See these words to Caxton's Recuyel; Herb. I. 7.

illustrissimam Academiam Oxoniensem adventu, Aug. 27, Anno 1605 Narratio ab Isaaco Wake. Editio Sexta. Anno 1663. 12mo.

ISAAC WAKE, the author of this curious little volume, was the public orator of the University. One of the most curious passages it contains is that which relates to the little spectacle exhibited at St. John's College, when James entered the University from Woodstock; and it is the more remarkable, as it is supposed to have given rise to the Macbeth of Shakspeare, which did not appear till a year after. The passage may be found at page 29, and is as follows.

"Quorum primos jam ordines dum Principes contemplantur, primisque congratulantium acclamationibus delectantur, Collegium D. Johannis, nomine literarum domicilium (quod Dominus Th. Whitus Prætor olim Londinensis, opimis reditibus locupletarat,) faciles eorum oculos speciosæ structuræ adblanditione invitat; moxque & oculos & aures detinet ingeniosa, nec injucunda, lusiuncula, qua clarissimus Præses cum quinquanginta, quos alit Collegium, studiosis, magnaque Studentium conviventium caterva prodiens, Principes in transitu salutandos censuit.

Tabulæ ansam dedit antiqua de Regia prosapia historiola apud Scoto-Britannos celebrata, quæ tres olim Sibyllas occurrisse duobus Scotiæ proceribus Macbetho & Banchoni, & illum præduxisse Regem futurum, sed Regem nullum geniturum, hunc Regem non futurum sed Reges geniturum multos. Vaticinii veritatem rerum eventus

comprobavit. Banchonis enim é stirpe Potentissimus Tres adolescentes concinno JACOBUS oriundus. Sibullarum habitu induti, e Collegio prodeuntes, & carmina lepida alternatim canentes, Regi se tres esse illas Sibyllas profitentur, quæ Banchoni olim sobolis imperia prædixerant, jamque iterum comparere, ut eadem vaticinii veritate prædicerent JACOBO se jam et diu regem futurum Britanniæ felicissimum et multorum Regum parentem, ut ex BANCHONIS stirpe nunquam sit hæres Britannico diademati defuturus. Deinde tribus Principibus suaves felicitatum triplicitates triplicates terminum vicibus succinentes, veniamque precantes, quod alumni ædium Divi Johannis (qui præcursor Christi) alumnos Ædis Christi (quo tum Rex tendebat) præcursoria hac salutatione antevertissent, Principes ingeniosa fictiuncula delectatos dimittunt; quos inde universa ostantium multitudo. felici prædictionum successui suffragans votis precibusque ad portam usque invitatis Borealem prosequitur. E.

ART. CCCXXII. A Register and Chronicle Ecclesiastical and Civil, containing matters of fact, delivered in the words of the most authentic books, papers and records, digested in exact order of time. With proper notes and references towards discovering and connecting the true History of England from the Restauration of King Charles II. Vol. I. Faithfully taken from the Manuscript Collections of the Lord Bishop of Peterborough. London, Printed for R. Williamson, near Gray's Inn Gate in Holborn. 1728. Fol. pp. 938, besides Dedication, Preface and Index.

THE dedication of this work to the Queen is dated March 1, 1727-8, and the Bishop died 19 Dec. following, æt. 69.

The Preface commences with these observations.

"The common world will judge, that it has much more of reputation to be an author, than to be a bare collector: and this will be a standing reason why the multitude of writers shall aim at the more creditable name, and why so few seem willing to submit to that lower character. But however to write for praise and popularity is one thing, and to write for public use and service is a different thing. The first indeed is more natural; the latter has somewhat of self denial and mortification in it.

"The author has not only the pleasure of hunting after the applause of others, but he enjoys a quicker taste of pleasing himself, being at liberty to indulge his invention, his judgment, his fancy, wit, oratory, or any other prevailing talent in him; while the dull collector is confined to the sort of mechanic drudgery, to the running, stooping, searching, poring, picking out, and putting together, a mass of authorities; and often revising, collating, and transferring of them, without being able to bring them soon into any regular form and fashion. As inglorious, as for the day-labourer to be throwing up a heap of stones and rubbish, while the noble architect alone has the satisfaction and credit of raising and perfecting his own model.

"And yet in compiling any history fit to be read, the proper materials are to be sought out with diligence, and before they are compacted, they must be examined, compared, corrected, and adjusted in due order, and marked out for the respective use and occupation of them. And therefore the dry collectors of original and authentic matter, such as acts, deeds, records, and other evidences, do somewhat more of service to the world, to posterity at least, than those finer pens, that upon slight materials strike out a goodly frame, to little better purpose, than the building a castle in that place, where there can be no foundation for it."

The volume however, useful as it is, remained for many years, and probably still continues, little better than waste paper in booksellers' shops. Such is public caprice!

Dr. White Kennet, the compiler, was son of a clergyman at Dover, in Kent, where he was born Aug. 10, 1660. In 1684, he became A. M. at Oxford, and in 1685, Vicar of Ambrosden. In 1691 he was chosen Lecturer of St. Martin's in Oxford, and Tutor, and Vice-Principal of St. Edmund's Hall. In 1695 he published his Parochial Antiquities; and in 1699 he became D. D. and was appointed minister of St. Botolph, Aldgate, London. About 1705 he prepared a third volume to the collection of Writers of English History; of which the second edition came out in 1719. In 1707, he was appointed Dean of Peterborough, and was promoted to the bishopric in November, 1718.*

His younger brother, the Rev. Basil Kennet, D. D. well known for his "Lives of the Grecian Poets," and other learned works, died 1714, aged 40.

^{*} The former editions of the Biographical Dictionary, with their usual deficiency, omit the mention of either of the works here registered.

ART. CCCXXIII. Parochial Antiquities attempted in the History of Ambrosden, Burcester, and other adjacent parts in the counties of Oxford and Bucks. By White Kennet, Vicar of Ambrosden. Vetera Majestas quædam, &c. (ut sic dixerim) Religio commendat. Quinctil. de Instit. Orator l. i. c. 6. Oxford, Printed at the Theater, 1695. 4to. pp. 704. besides dedication, preface, full index, and long glossary.

This laborious compilation of the learned Bishop of Peterborough, has for many years been scarce, and sold at a high price. It arose from an inquiry into the abuse of an ancient public charity in the parish, of which he was presented to the vicarage in 1685.

- "This was the occasion," says he, "which first engaged me in inquiries and searches after papers and records, which might any way relate to my church and parish.
- "When I had once began to be thus inquisitive, the slow discoveries which I gradually made, did not so much satisfy my mind, as they did incite it to more impatient desires. So that diverting from my ordinary course of studies, I fell to search for private papers, and public evidences, to examine Chartularies, and other manuscripts, and by degrees to run over all printed volumes, which I thought might afford any manner of knowledge of this parish, and the adjacent parts of the country.
- "As to the method, I proposed to make it as obvious and regular, as such disjointed matter would allow. Where I wanted authorities, I resolved my conjectures should be short and modest."

At the Norman Conquest, he says he found his matter more copious; and has gathered up many materials to improve Dugdale's Baronage, and thousands of charts and muniments to add to the Monasticon Anglicanum.

At length, as his matter increased upon him, he found it necessary to break off at the year 1460, "having thought it convenient to proceed by way of annals, that he might keep to the exact period of life and action, which are the soul of history, and the criterion of all truth."

Finding, in the progress of the sheets through the press, many terms and phrases unexplained, he has drawn up a glossary of about 118 pages, which furnish improvements to the excellent Glossary of Sir Henry Spelman, of which Du Fresne's Work, as to all the old terms of more peculiar use in this island, is merely an abridgment.

"I am sensible," he concludes, "there be some, who slight and despise this sort of learning, and represent it to be a dry barren monkish study. I leave such to their dear enjoyments of ignorance and ease. But I dare assure any wise and sober man, that Historical Antiquities, especially a search into the notices of our own nation, do deserve and well reward the pains of any English student; will make him understand the state of former ages, the constitution of governments, the fundamental reasons of equity and law, the rise and succession of doctrines and opinions, the original of ancient, and the composition of modern, tongues; the tenures of property, the maxims of policy, the rites of religion. the characters of virtue and vice, and indeed the nature of mankind."

In the Dedication to his patron, Sir William Glynne, Bart. he says farther on this subject: " As to the performance, I am under no concern to vindicate it from the slights and ridicules that may be cast upon it by idle witty people, who think all history to be scraps, and all antiquity to be rust and rubbish. Next to the immediate discharge of my holy office, I know not how in any course of studies I could have better served my patron, my people, and my successors, than by preserving the memoirs of this parish and the adjacent parts, which before lay remote from common notice, and in few years had been buried in unsearchable oblivion. present age be too much immersed in cares or pleasures, to take any relish, or to make any use of these discoveries, I then appeal to posterity: for I believe the times will come, when persons of better inclination will arise, who will be glad to find any collection of this nature; and will be ready to supply the defects, and carry on a continuation of it.

The volume contains nine plates of churches and seats, by Michael Burghers, distinguished by a certain kind of character, like that of the Flemish school of painters, which is exceedingly amusing and attractive.

ART. CCCXXIV. The History of Gustavus Ericson.

By Mrs. Sarah Scott. 1761. 8vo.

TO THE EDITOR.

Sir,

I ENCLOSE you an account of a publication of the late Mrs. Sarah Scott, author of the Life of D'Aubigne, and many other works. The "History of Gus-

tavus Ericson," in point of composition, is fully equal to the Life of D'Aubigne. I believe it is become a scarce book. The memorandum herewith is annexed to a copy in the library of T. B. Esq. of N——.

I beg leave to wish you every possible success in the prosecution of a work calculated to be eminently useful to the lovers of antiquarian research.

London, Dec. 12, 1805.

M. B.

"The name of Henry Augustus Raymond, annexed to the title of the History of Gustavus Ericson, is fictitious, the real author being Mrs. Sarah Scott, wife of George Lewis Scott, Esq. sub-preceptor to his present Majesty (George the Third) during his minority, and afterwards one of the Commissioners of Excise, whom she survived near fifteen years, and died at her house at Catton, near Norwich, in 1795. She was sister to the celebrated Mrs. Montagu of Portman Square, London, who died in 1800; they were daughters of Matthew Robinson, Esq. of West Layton in Yorkshire, and Monks-Horton, near Hythe, in Kent; their elder brother Matthew, Lord Rokeby, died also in 1800. With abilities of a superior cast, and distinguished literary attainments, there was a mixture of eccentricity in the character of all the three. Mrs. Scott wrote also the Life of Theodore Agrippa D'Aubigné, published in 1772."

The above is transcribed from a manuscript memorandum written on the first leaf of a copy of "The History of Gustavus Ericson, King of Sweden, with an Introductory History of Sweden, from the Middle of the Twelfth Century. By Henry Augustus Raymond, Esq. Printed for A. Millar, 1761, 8vo."

T. B.

Motives of delicacy restrain the Editor from entering at large upon the characters of those whom the present communication gives him an opportunity to mention; but he cannot totally omit the occasion to say a few words. The epithet "eccentric" was totally inapplicable to Mrs. Montagu. She justly prided herself upon her knowledge of the world, and her conformity to its manners and habits. indeed her defect that she had too great a regard to these things, and damped her transcendent talents by a sacrifice to the cold dictates of worldly wisdom. Her understanding was as sound as her fancy was lively; * her taste was correct and severe; and she penetrated the human character with an almost unerring sagacity; but her love of popularity, her vanity, and her ambition of politeness, controuled her expressions, and concealed her real sentiments from superficial observers. No one had seen more of life than she had; and of that part of mankind. who were eminent either for their genius or their rank; and, for many years, during the latter part of her long existence, her splendid house in Portman Square is well known to have been open to the literary world. She had lived at the table of the second Lord Oxford, the resort of Pope, and his co-temporaries; she was the intimate friend of

^{*} The Essay on Shakspeare is really a wonderful performance, as all, who will examine it impartially, must admit. It is a ridiculous supposition that she was assisted by her husband. Mr. Montagu's talent lay in mathematical pursuits.

Pulteney, and Lyttelton; and she survived to entertain Johnson, and Goldsmith, and Burke, and Reynolds, till their respective deaths. Beattie was frequently her inmate; and Mrs. Elizabeth Carter, who now has been distinguished as an author for nearly seventy years, and still exhibits on the eve of ninety the possession of her extraordinary faculties and acquirements, was, from their early years, her intimate, friend, correspondent, and visitor. During these continued opportunities Mrs. Montagu was not idle or heedless; she saw human nature in all its windings; and she saw it with the aid of a constellation of wits. Her knowledge therefore was eminently acute and practical; and as she was a votary of the manners of the world even to a fault, had no pretensions to the epithet "eccentric." In making these observations the Editor trusts he shall not be deemed to have gone beyond the occasion; for he has touched only a very small part of the character of Mrs. Montagu *.

To her brother, the late Lord Rokeby, indeed the term "eccentric" might not unjustly be applied. He was the perfect opposite to his sister. From his very boyhood he resolved to live by the guide of his own understanding. That understanding was by nature vigorous, and by constant exercise eminently acute; and, if he sometimes became bewildered in labyrinths for want of the assisting lights of others, he often struck out unexpected truths, which in personal conferences he communicated with peculiar force by the energy of his manner; but of which, for want

^{*} Mr. Matthew Montagu has since published 4 volumes of his Aunt's Letters, for which he has such voluminous materials.

of attention to the polish of language and the arts of composition, he did not gain the full credit with the public at large. In the early part of his life he had associated with the world, and sat in Parliament. Ill health first drove him into a fixed retirement: but when there, he had an opportunity of completely emancipating himself from the sphere of the world's prejudices. He saw its follies "through the loophole of retreat," and he had the courage to judge and act for himself. The baubles of life had no attractions for him. Solitude was no desert in his He looked around him on creation with an expanded heart, and surveyed the simple and unsophisticated charms of Nature with rapture. saw him at the age of eighty-five, from the stone steps of his hall, lifting his arm to point out the beautiful scenes around him with a heart full of gratitude to Providence for the pleasures of which our existence is capable; and then heard him lament with a tremulous and energetic eloquence how those blessings were thrown away by the crimes of Society, which, influenced by luxury and instigated by ambition, defiled them with litigation, and wasted them with wars, and rapine, and bloodshed!

On the verge of eighty-eight he died in the vigour of his body and mind, from neglect of an accidental complaint in his leg. But the lamp of life could not easily be extinguished: his struggles to the last were full of agonizing strength. His heart was the very seat of simplicity, independence, and integrity. His intellect was powerful and commanding. He had a few peculiarities, which gave scope for the misrepresentations and silly comments of the

light-hearted, and the light-headed; beings, about whom he gave himself no concern; and whom no man of elevated mind will ever condescend to notice!

ART. CCCXXV. Northern Memoirs, calculated for the Meridian of Scotland, wherein most or all of the cities, citadels, sea-ports, castles, forts, fortresses, rivers and rivulets are compendiously described, &c. &c. To which is added, the contemplative and practical Angler. With a narrative of that dexterous and mysterious art, &c. By way of Dialogue. Writ in the year 1658, but not till now made publick. By Richard Frank, Philanthropus. Plures necat Gula quam Gladius. London: Printed for the Author. 1694. 800. pp. 304.

The author, a Cambridge academician, and dissatisfied cavalier, appears to have travelled as much for the purpose of diverting his spleen and melancholy, as for amusement, being passionately devoted to the pursuit of angling. The greater part of this work is occupied by a variety of dissertations on this subject, rather than affords any topographical information. I have selected, as a specimen of his style, an extract from his first dedication to a friend, (there being no less than four distinct ones * to this rare and singular book.) After inviting him "to step into Scotland to rummage and rifle her rivers and

They are respectively entitled as follows: 1. "To my worthy and honored friend Mr. J. W. Merchant in London." 2. "To the Virtuoso's of the Rod in Great Britain's Metropolis, the famous City of London." 3. "To the Academics in Cambridge, the place of my nativity." 4. "To the Gentlemen Piscatorians inhabiting in or near the sweet situation of Nottingham, North of Trent."

rivulets, and examine her flourishing streams for entertainment," he observes, "vou are to consider, that the whole tract of Scotland is but one single series of admirable delights, notwithstanding the prejudicate reports of some men that represent it otherwise. For if eve-sight be argument convincing enough to confirm a truth, it enervates my pen to describe Scotland's curiosities, which properly ought to fall under a more elegant stile to range them in order for a better discovery. For Scotland is not Europe's umbra, as fictitiously imagined by some extravagant wits: no, it's rather a legible fair draught of the beautiful creation, dressed up with polished rocks, pleasant savanas, flourishing dales. deep and torpid lakes, with shady fir-woods, immerg'd with rivers and gliding rivulets; where every fountain o'erflows a valley, and every ford superabounds with fish. Where also the swelling mountains are covered with sheep, and the marish grounds strewed with cattle; whilst every field is filled with corn, and every swamp swarms with fowl. This, in my opinion, proclaims a plenty, and presents Scotland, a kingdom of prodigies and products too, to allure foreigners and entertain travellers." J. H. M.

*** J. H. M. would be extremely gratified if some one of the numerous contributers to the Censura Literaria would give an account of that very rare work entitled "Byshope's Blossoms." The reason of this request originates from observing, in the catalogue of a most respectable provincial bookseller, the following note subjoined to the same book. "At page fifty-one of this very curious work is to be found the remarkable story upon which the

late Horace Walpole's play of the Mysterious Mother is founded."

ART. CCCXXVI. The Memoires of the Duke of Rohan: or, a faithful Relation of the most remarkable occurrences in France; especially concerning those of the Reformed Churches there. From the death of Henry the Great until the Peace made with them, in June 1629. Together with divers politic Discourses upon several occasions. Written originally in French, by the Duke of Rohan, and now Englished by George Bridges, of Lincolns-Inne, Esq. London. Printed by E. M. for Gabriel Bedell, and Thomas Collins; and are to be sold at their shop, at the Middle Temple Gate in Fleet-street. 1660. 8vo. pp. 224, besides Epistle, Preface and Table.

After this occurs a new Title-Page, viz. Divers Politique Discourses of the Duke of Rohan; made at several times upon several occasions: written originally in French; and now rendered into English. By G. B. Esq. London, Printed by Thomas Ratcliffe, for G. Bedell and T. Collins, at the Middle Temple Gate in Fleetstreet. 1660. pp. 70.

George Bridges, the translator of this work, was younger brother of Sir Thomas Bridges, of Keinsham Abbey in Somersetshire, and son of Edward Bridges, Esq. of the same place, by Philippa, daughter of Sir George Speke, K. B. He died Jan. 1, 1677, and was buried in Keinsham church. I cannot refrain from embracing the opportunity of saying a few words about the above branch of this once numerous

and spreading family. I cannot refrain, because there was a vile attempt, on a late occasion, for the most malicious and dishonest purposes, to substitute them in a wrong place. The Keinsham branch were notoriously, and upon the most demonstrable proof, descended from Thomas Bridges, who died 1559, and lies buried at Cornbury * in Oxfordshire, and to whom Edw. VI. granted the site of the priory of Keinsham. He was younger brother to John, first Lord Chandos: and some account of him may be found in Tho. Warton's Life of Sir Thomas Pope. He left issue Henry, who died 1597, and was father of Sir Thomas, whose son Edward was father of George Bridges the translator. George Rodney Bridges, the first cousin of this George, married the famous Countess of Shrewsbury, who is said to have held the Duke of Buckingham's horse in the disguise of a page. while he fought a duel with her husband, Lord Shrewsbury. Pope records the loves of this tender pair:

> " Gallant and gay, in Clicfden's proud alcove, The bower of wanton Shrewsbury and love."

The son of this too famous Countess, by her last husband, lived at Avington, near Winchester, which city he long represented in Parliament, and dying 1751, aged 72, left his estates to his remote cousin the late Duke of Chandos; among which was the large manor of VILLIERS in Ireland, derived, I

* In Oct. 1796, I visited Cornbury church, and saw the broken fragments still legible of the brass which records his memory, and man'y honourable employments. I restoved the parts to their place in the wall, whence they are probably again separated for ever.

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presume from his mother, which was for many years afterwards the subject of dreadful litigations with the tenants, as may be seen in Hargrave's Law Tracts.

But, proveable and clear as was the descent of this branch, it was not the only instance, in which wicked opponents made use of similar materials, in defiance of the acknowledged falsehood of their application. There existed a certain family of the name, of respectability and fortune, and for many generations possessed of the seat * of their residence. These had long flattered themselves by the claim of But it happened unforalliance to a noble house. tunately for this claim, that there existed amongst o the most authentic records of the Heralds' College, under the powerful certificate of the very learned Gregory King, and even their own signature, † a pedigree which decisively annihilated these preten-But this family was pressed forward also to create confusion, and disseminate prejudices. It was not indeed brought publicly forth: the propagators knew it would not bear the light; and that the consequence would be instant confutation. worked like moles in the dark: vile toad-eaters and dissemblers, who got access to the houses of the Great by base servility and adulation, poisoned by these means the minds of two many, and misled and puzzled those who were too easily puzzled. I forbear to point out individuals, though there is one deceitful little wretch, whose constant dangling at the doors of high rank, and peculiar activity in this

^{*} Tyberton, in Herefordshire.

⁺ In the last visitation of Herefordshire.

business, will, should he ever read these passages, be fully aware of its allusions.*

Having written thus far. I look back, and besitate! But what I have written shall stand! I have forhorne for years, out of delicacy, to tell the truth on this subject: but there is a point, when forbearance becomes a folly, and even a crime. Let it not be supposed, that I care for these baubles, or that my mind still dwells incessantly on the ill usage that my family have received. Indignation has worked my cure. My heart is purged, I trust, of all its weak ambitions; and I allow of no superiority, but that of the disposition and the head. Were I vested with the titles and possessions even of a leading Duke. but were (as might have happened) low in manners. vulgar in intellectual qualities, and base in dispbsition. I should consider that my honours and wealth would expose instead of covering my personal inferiority! Could I reach the pathetic or sublime strains of Burns, how mean would it be, to feel humiliation, had I been born in a hovel, and traced no blood in my veins, but what had flowed from labourers and measants!

I know not then why I should concern myself in endeavouring to honour a family, who, numerous and powerful and far spread as they have been, have in the long track of ages been little known in literature, but whose habits have been almost all feudal, whilst I am forced to press an humble tran-

^{*} The person here alluded to, has since gone to his long home. He was nearest in blood to a very learned and ingenious author, who deceased many years before him; and whose Legal Treatises are less known than they ought to be.

slator into the service, and rest our fame upon one, who must stand in the hindmost ranks of authorship! Nor shall I perhaps gain much more credit by the niche which, on doubtful pretensions, I have formerly obtained for a peer of the family in the temple of Lord Orford's Noble Authors. But I care not:

vix ea nostra voco.

I can see insolent and undeserving men, sitting in the seats of my ancestors, and inebriated by the giddy height they have attained; I can see them without humiliation or regret. Nay, I can with sincerity return scorn for scorn! But enough!

The Duke de Rohan died April 13, 1638. His Memoirs are highly esteemed. It seems to have been agreed that he was one of the greatest men of his time.

The translation is dedicated to James Marquis of Ormond, Lord Lieutenant of Ireland. The translator says he was principally induced to publish it in our language, by some passages tending to the vindication of our late incomparable king and martyr, from no less false than foul aspersions concerning Rochelle; his care and diligence to order their relief being here acknowledged, by persons more concerned, than our pretended propagators of religion; the Rochellers' ruin being chiefly occasioned by their own inconstancy, refusing to admit those succours when come, which they before, even with tears, implored, and their own intestine divisions and factions; with which his blasphemous and rebellious subjects first

sought to wound his fame, that with more security they might imbrue their hands in his most sacred blood."*

- P. S. Harry Bridges of Keinsham, nephew of this George, was also an author, or rather translator of *The Tales of Cervantes*.
- In Bibliotheque des Sciences, Oct. Nov. Dec. 1767. (Tom. XXVIII. Part. II. A La Hage, 1768,) is an account of a Book entitled "Historie de Tancrede de Rohan, avec quelques autres Pieces concernant L'Historie Romaine. A Liege, chez. J. F. Bossompierrel Imprimeur de Son Altesse, & Libraire; 1767, grand in 12 de 498 pp."

This Tancred, says Anderson in his Genealogies, was rejected by the Parliament of Paris, who made his sister heiress of Rohan.

Dec. 26, 1805.

BIOGRAPHY.

ART. CCCXXVII. Virorum Doctorum de Disciplinis Benemerentium effigies XLIIII. A Phillippo Galleo Antwerpiæ, 1572, fol.

As I shall presently give an account of Holland's Heroologia, I msert in this place the above work of a similar nature; though perhaps not strictly within my plan. It contains no lives like Holland: but two Latin distichs at the bottom of each portrait. At the commencement is an advertisement in two pages, entitled " Philippus Gallæus Pictor et Chalcographus Bonarum Artium Amatoribus," dated "Antwerpiæ VI. Kal. Mart. 1572." Of the distichs he says "Singulorum quos nunc exhibemus elogia, Benedictus Arias Montanus, (qui disciplinarum omnium, et nostrarum etiam artium, picturæ et sculpturæ peritos plurimum diligit) binis distichis artificiose complexus est, quæ non minus varietate et elegantia, quam veritate laudum lectores juvabunt.

The portraits are 1. Æneas Silvius. 2. Abrahamus Ortelius. 3. Andreas Alciatus. 4. Andreas Vesa-

lius. 5. Angelus Politianus. 6. Ben. Arius Montanus. 7. Bilibaldus Pircheymer. 8. Christophor Plantinus. 9. Clemens Marotus. 10. Cornelius Gemma. 11. Cornelius Grapheus. 12. Dantes Aligerius. 13. Erasmus Roterod. 14. Fransciscus Petrarcha. 15. Gemma Frisius. 16. Georgius Macropedius. 17. Gilbertus Limburgus. 18. Guilielmus Budgens, 19. Gullielmus Philander, 20. Hadrianus Junius. 21. Hadrianus Trajectensis, 22. Hieronymus Savonarola. 23. Jacobus Latomus. 24. Joachimus Camerarius, 25. Joannes Bapt, Gellius, 26. Joannes Becanus. 27. Joannes Bocatius. 28. Joannes Dousa. 29. Joannes Fischerus. 30. Joannes Sam-31. Joannes Sartorius. 32. Ludovicus hucus. 33. Marcilius Ficinus. 34. Nicolaus Tar-Vives 35. Pet. Andreas Mathiolus. 36. Petrus 37. Petrus Bembus. 38. Rembertus Do-39. Rodolphus Agricola. 40. Ruardus Tapperus. 41. Stanislaus Hosius. 42. Theodorus Pulmannus. 43. Thomas Morus. 44. Wolfgangus Lazins.

This book is scarce. In the copy I have seen there is bound with it "Doctorum aliquot Virorum Vivæ Effigies. Joos de Bosscher excudebat," which contains forty portraits, of which some of the subjects are the same as those in the former work.

ART. CCCXXVIII. Heroologia Anglica: hoc est, Clarissimorum et doctissimorum aliquot Anglorum, qui florucrunt ab anno Cristi M. D. usque ad presentem annum M.DCXX, vivæ effigies, vitæ, et elogia. Duobus Tomis. Authore H. H. Anglo

Britanno. Impensis Crispini Passæi Calæcographiæ, et Jansonii Bibliopolæ Arnhemiensis.

This is part of an engraved title-page, ornamented with figures, with a small map of England at the top, and a view of London at the bottom.

The author was HENRY HOLLAND, son of Philemon Holland, a physician and schoolmaster at Coventry, and the well-known translator of Camden, &c. Henry was born at Coventry, and travelled with John Lord Harington into the Palatinate in 1613, and collected and wrote (besides the Heroologia) " Monumenta Sepulchralia Ecclesiæ S. Pauli Lond." 4to; and engraved and published "A book of Kings, being a true and lively effigies of all our English Kings from the Conquest till this present," &c. 1618. He was not educated either in Oxford or Cambridge, having been a member of the Society of Stationers in London. I think it is most probable that he was brother to Abraham Holland, who subscribes his name as " Abr. Holland alumnus S.S. Trin. Coll. Cantabr." to some copies of Latin verses on the death of John second Lord Harington, of Exton, in the Heroologia; which Abraham was the author of a poem, called "Naumachia; or, Holland's Sea-Fight," Lond. 1622: 4to. and died 18 Feb. 1625, when his "Posthuma" were edited by "his brother H. Holland." At this time however there were other writers of the name of Hen. Holland *.

The Heroologia is dedicated to James I. After which is "Præfatio ad Spectatorem pium, et ad humanum Lectorem." This is succeeded by Post-

* Wood's Ath. I. 499.

Prefatio seu commonefactio Spectatori pio, Lectori candido, Censorique æquo." The last I will copy as explanatory of the work.

" Docti, dilecti, pii, piique: En vobis delineatas Anglicanæ gentis heroum effigies, quas curavi (quod maxime potui) ut ab ipsis illorum vivis imaginibus oleo depictis effingerentur, una cum succincta vitarum suarum historia, quæ Collegi et conquæsivi ex ipsis VERITATIS visceribus, în mundi theatrum produco, non spectandi solum gratiâ (cum puerorum sit nuda oscilla, seu imagunculas attonite intueri) nedum superstitioso affectu ullo: Papistæ enim canonizatorum sacrificulorum suorum Icones retinere solent inviolatas; sed etiam idque imprimis, ut illorum piam memoriam illustremque famam immortalitati commendarem, defunctosque quodamodo a mortuis excitarem, et illis quandam vitam infunderem. Neque tamen dicti illius immemor, S" Augustini in libris suis de Civitate Dei: "Sepulchrorum memoria magis est vivorum consolatio quam defunctorum utilitas. Denique ut ipse hæc vivorum simulachra intuitus, et virtutibus jam defunctorum notatibus Deum Opt. Max. gloria afficias, propter tam eximios et salutares administros ex-Theologorum autem et scriptorum vitis citatos. utcunque a me delineatis catalogum, et quasi Commentariolum quoddam singulorum librorum et tractatuum ab iis conscriptorum sive Anglice sive Latine editorum subjeci et subjunxi.

Sed fortasse aliquis vestrûm excipiet (vos autem ὁμοςθνεις populares meos alloquor) superesse, complures alios per excellentes viros natione Anglos qui in hoc album referri possent: Concedo id quidem,

sed in veras illorum effigies non potui incidere falsas autem et adulterinas Picturas in omnium conspectum proferre nolui: Huc accedit, quod destinatum et mihi propositum numerum, complevi. Neque vereor affirmare hos ipsos quos exhibui intra centenos annos proxime elapsos in Natione nostra longe excelluisse. Nihilominus, si qua in re deliquerim vel minus exquisite quid descripserim, quod non adeo repugnanter cognoscam, ad tuam, benevole Lector Spectatorque, facilem et candidam censuram confugio, unde in proposito meo confirmabor, et postea omnium aspectui judicioque exponam, consimiles virorum præstantium atque etiamnum in nostra Gente superstitum effigies quibus sapientiores, doctiores, prudentiores, nulla ætas vidit. sane opus parturio, jamque in manibus habeo. Iterum valete."

Next follows "Admonitio ad Lectorem," which is succeeded by several copies of commendatory Latin verses.

The first division, or volume (both being bound together and paged as one), contains principally laymen; the second is entirely dedicated to divines.

This work is very valuable, as it contains, I believe, the first regular collection of English heads, several of which are done by the family of Pass, and many of subjects which have never been otherwise engraved, except as they were copied from these. A reference to the enumeration of prints in the first volume of Granger's Biographical History will confirm this assertion. It may however be useful to give

A List of the Portraits in this Work.

Tom. I.

- 1. Henry VIII.
- 2. Thomas Cromwell, Earl of Essex. Ob. 1540.
- 3. Sir Thomas More. Ob. 1535.
- 4. Cardinal Wolsey. Ob. 1530.
- 5. Cardinal Reginald Pole. Ob. 1558.
- 6. Edward VI.
- Edward Seymour, Duke of Somerset; a fine head. Ob. 1549.
- 8. Lady Jane Gray. Ob. 1553.
- 9. Q. Elizabeth; followed by a print of her tomb.
- 10. Henry Prince of Wales; a fine head. Ob. 1612.
- The same, a whole length, Tilting; followed by a print of his tomb.
- 12. Sir John Cheek; a fine head. Ob. 1557.
- William Herbert, Earl of Pembroke. Ob. 1569.
- 14. Walter Devereux, Earl of Essex. Ob. 1576.
- 15. Sir Nicholas Bacon. Ob. 1578,
- 16. Sir Humphrey Gilbert, Navigator. Ob. 1583.
- 17. Sir Henry Sydney, K. G. (of whom a beautiful portrait remains at Penhurst.) * Ob. 1586.
- 18. Sir Philip Sydney. Ob. 1586.
- Robert Dudley, Earl of Leicester, by W. Pass. Ob. 1588.
- 20. Ambrose Dudley, Earl of Warwick. Ob. 1589.
- 21. Sir Francis Walsingham. Ob. 1590.
- 22. Sir Richard Granville, Navigator. Ob. 1591.
- * Granger makes a strange mistake in calling his mother p. Dudley. His wife was a Dudley, by which his son Sir Philip became aephew to Robert Earl of Leicester.

- 23. Thomas Candish, Navigator. Ob. 1592.
- 24. Cristopher Carlile, Navigator. Ob. 1593.
- 25. Sir Martin Frobisher, Navigator. Ob. 1594.
- 26. Sir John Hawkins, Navigator. Ob. 1596.
- 27. Sir Francis Drake, Navigator. Ob. 1596.
- 28. William Cecil, Lord Burleigh. Ob. 1598.
- 29. Henry Herbert, Earl of Pembroke. Ob. 1600.
- 30. Robert Devereux, Earl of Essex. Ob. 1601.
- 31. George Clifford, Earl of Cumberland. Ob. 1605.
- 32. Robert Cecil, Earl of Salisbury. Ob. 1612.
- 33. Thomas Sutton, Founder of the Charterhouse. Ob. 1611.
- 34. John Harington, Lord Harington of Exton. Ob. 1613.
- 35. John second Lord Harington of Exton. Ob. 1614. fine.

The Second Part is dedicated "Ad utrasque illustrissimas et florentissimas Angliæ Academias, binos illos regni oculos, sydera clara, binosque Literarum et Religionis purioris fontes," which is followed by "auctoris inscriptiuncula."

List of the Portraits in Tom. II.

- 36. John Collet, Dean of St. Paul's. Ob.
- 37. William Tyndal, Martyr. Ob. 1536.
- 38. John Bradford, Martyr. Ob. 1555.
- 39. Bishop Hugh Latymer, Martyr. Ob. 1555.
- 40. Bp. Nicolas Ridley, Martyr. Ob. 1555.
- 41. John Rogers Martyr. Ob. 1555.
- 42. Laurence Saunders, Martyr. Ob. 1555-6.
- 43. Apb. Thomas Cranmer. Ob. 1556.

- 44. John Bale, Bp. of Ossory. Ob. 1558.
- 45. Bp. John Jewell. Ob. 1573.
- 46. David Whitehead. Ob. 1571.
- 47. Abp. Matthew Parker. Ob. 1574.
- 48. Thomas Becon. Ob. 1570.
- 49. John Cav. M. D. Ob. 1573.
- 50. Robert Abbot, Bp. of Salisbury. Ob. 1618.
- 51. James Montagu, Bp. of Winchester. Ob. 1618.
- 52. Edward Dering. Ob. 1576.
- 53. Abp. Edmund Grindall. Ob. 1583.
- 54. John Fox, Martyrologist. Ob. 1587.
- 55. Abp. Edwin Sandys. Ob. 1588.
- 56. Laurence Humfrey. Ob. 1589.
- 57. John More S. T. P. Ob. 1592.
- 58. William Whitaker, S. T. P. Ob. 1595.
- 59. Alexander Nowell. Ob. 1601.
- 60. William Perkins, S. T. P. Ob. 1602.
- 61. Abp. John Whitgift. Ob. 1603.
- 62. John Reynolds, D.D. Ob. 1607.
- 63. Richard Vaughan, Bp. of London. Ob. 1607.
- 64. Gervase Babington, Bp. of Worcester. Ob. 1610.
- 65. Thomas Holland, S. T. P. Ob. 1612.

ART. CCCXXIX. Abel Redivivus: or, the Dead yet speaking. The lives and deaths of the Modern Divines. Written by severall able and learned men (whose names ye shall finde in the Epistle to the Reader.) And now digested into one volume, for the benefit and satisfaction of all those that desire to be acquainted with the paths of piety and virtue. Prov. x.7. "The memory of the just is blessed,

but the name of the wicked shall rot." London. Printed by Thomas Brudenell for John Stafford, dwelling in Brides Churchyard, near Fleetstreet. 1651. 4to.

This is one of the voluminous publications of Dr. Thomas Fuller, who signs his name to the "Epistle to the Reader," from his residence at Waltham Abbey.

The work is adorned with a great many small engraved heads, which, though mentioned generally in a note by Granger (Vol. I. p. 204.) are, I think, not particularly specified by him. None, I presume, are originals, but copied from Holland, Boissard, and others.

"As for the makers of the work," says Fuller in the Epistle, "they are many; some done by Dr. Featly, now at rest with God, viz. The lives of Jewell, Reynolds, Abbot, and diverse others. Some by that reverend and learned divine Master Gataker: viz. The lives of Peter Martyn, Bale, Whitgift, Ridley, Whitaker, Parker, and others. Dr. Willet's life by Dr. Smith, his son in law. Erasmus his life by the Rev. Bishop of Kilmore. The life of Bishop Andrewes by the judicious and industrious, my worthy friend, Master Isaacson: and my meannesse wrote all the lives of Berengarius, Huss, Hierom of Prague, Archbishop Cranmer, Master Fox, Perkins, Junius, &c. Save the most part of the poetry was done by Master Quarles, father and son, sufficiently known for their abilities therein. The rest the Stationer got transcribed out of Mr. Holland and other authors."

I shall only cite the poetical character at the end of the life and death of Dr. Andrew Willet.

"See here a true Nathaniel, in whose breast
A careful conscience kept her lasting feast.
Whose simple heart could never lodge a guile
In a soft word, nor malice in a smile.
He was a faithful labourer, whose pains
Was pleasure; and an other's good, his gains:
The height of whose ambition was, to grow
More ripe in knowledge, to make others know:
Whose lamp was ever shining, never hid;
And when his tongue preach'd not, his actions did:
The world was least his care; he fought for heaven;
And what he had, he held not earn'd, but given:
The dearest wealth he own'd, the world ne'er gave;
Nor owes her ought but house-rent for a grave."

Dr. Andrew Willet, Rector of Barley in Hertfordshire, was a celebrated divine, whose theological works, both Latin and English, are numerous. He died 4 Dec. 1621, æt. 59. He was also a poet; the author of "Sacra Emblemata," and an Epithalamium" in English. "As the Latins," says A. Wood, "have had these emblematists Andr. Alciatus, Reusnerus, and Sambucus, so in England we have had these in the reign of Q. Eliz. Andr. Willet, Thom. Combe, and Geffrey Whitney;"* which words, it seems, were borrowed from Meres.

A well-written selection of the Lives of our most celebrated Divines, with critical accounts of their works, is a desideratum in our literature, which, if supplied, seems calculated for a most extensive sale, and the most important benefits to society. Such a work, if well digested, and brought within a moderate compass, no clergyman could forego, and to the many

^{*} Ath I, 230. Ritson's Bibl, Poet. p. 394.

of this profession, who cannot purchase a library, it would afford an advantageous substitute. It would encourage their labours, assist their studies, and direct their judgments; while the charms of biography would render it interesting to those who are least inclined to the toil of books. Such a work ought only to be undertaken by a clergyman, who joins to an intimacy with the whole learning of his profession, the skill of composition, and the powers of a vigorous, reflecting, and rich mind.

ART. CCCXXX. The Life of the renowned Sir Philip Sidney, with the true interest of England, as it then stood in relation to all forrain princes: and particularly for suppressing the power of Spain stated by him. His principall actions, counsels, designes, and death. Together with a short account of the maxims and policies used by Queen Elizabeth in her government.

Written by Sir Fulke Grevil, Knight, Lord Brook, a servant to Queen Elizabeth, and his companion and friend. London, Printed for Henry Seile, over against St. Dunstan's Church in Fleetstreet, 1652. 8vo. pp. 247.

This book is dedicated "most humbly to the Right Honourable the Countesse of Sunderland," by P. B. I give this title, as it is more full than in A. Wood, Ath. I. 522. where the reader may find a full account of Sir Fulke Greville, who was born 1554, made a Peer, 18 James I. and murdered by his servant Haywood, 30 Sept. 1628, at the age of 74.

ART. CCCXXXI. The Negotiations of Thomas Woolsey the great Cardinall of England, containing his life and death; viz. 1. The originall of his promotion. 2. The continuance in his magnificence. 3. His fall death, and buriall. Composed by one of his own servants, being his Gentleman-Usher. London. Printed for William Sheeres. 1641. 4to. pp. 118. With a print of Woolsey.

The life and death of Thomas Woolsey, Cardinal; once Archbishop of York and Lord Chancellour of England. Containing 1. The original of his promotion, and the way he took to obtain it. 2. The continuance in his magnificence. 3. His negotiations concerning the peace with France and the Netherlands. 4. His fall, death, and buriall. Wherein are things remarkable for these times. Written by one of his own servants, being his Gentleman Usher. London. Printed for Dorcas Newman, and are to be sold at the Chyrurgeon's Armes in Little Brittain, near the Hospital-gate. 1667. Duod. pp. 157. Dedicated to Henry, Marquis of Dorchester.

THE former of these is the first edition of Sir William* Cavendish's Memoirs of Wolsey. It is not mentioned in Kippis's Biogr. Brit. III. 324, (Art. Cavendish) nor in Collins's account of Sir W. C. in his Noble Families." The first impression, there registered, is that of 1667, printed for Dorcas Newman. It was again reprinted in 1707, duod.

VOL. IV.

^{*} A most ingenious Disquisition was published, in 1814, to prove the author to have been George Cavendish, Sir William's brother.

A very fair and valuable MS. copy of these memoirs is among the Harleian MSS. No. 428; much more large and correct than any of the printed copies, which abound with gross errors, and many omissions. It is my intention, if nobody anticipates me, to examine the above MS. the first opportunity, and produce a more accurate edition of this valuable memorial by an ancestor of whom I am proud.

ART. CCCXXXII. The Life of Theodore Agrippa D'Aubigne, containing a succinct account of the most remarkable occurrences during the Civil Wars of France in the reigns of Charles IX. Henry III. Henry IV. and in the minority of Lewis XIII. London. Printed for Edward and Charles Dilly in the Poultry. 1772. 8vo. pp. 421, besides Introduction and Index.

This was written by Mrs. Sarah Scott, wife of George Lewis Scott, Esq. and sister to the late Mrs. Montagu of Portman Square, and of Matthew Lord Rokeby.

Mrs. Scott died at Catton, near Norwich, in Nov. 1795. The following is an imperfect list of her numerous publications; all of which were, I think, anonymous, and many of them not now to be traced. She was an excellent historian, of great acquirements, extraordinary memory, and strong sense; and constantly employed in literary labours; yet careless of fame, and free from vanity and ostentation. Owing to a disagreement of tempers, she soon separated from her husband, who was a man well known in the world, of amiable character, and of intellectual

eminence, especially in the severer sciences: but in every other relation of life, she was, with some peculiarities, a woman of exemplary conduct, of sound principles, enlivened by the warmest sense of religion, and of a charity so unbounded, so totally regardless of herself, as to be almost excessive and indiscriminate. Her talents were not as brilliant, nor her genius as predominant, as those of her sister, Mrs. Montagu; but in some departments of literature she was by no means her inferior. When she left her husband, she united her income with that of her intimate friend, Lady Bab Montague, 'the sister of Lord Halifax; and they continued to live together till the death of the latter. From that period Mrs. S. continually changed her habitation; for restlessness was one of her foibles. Her intercourse with the world was various and extensive; and there were few literary people of her day with whom she had not either an acquaintance or a correspondence. Yet when she died, not one of her cotemporaries who knew her literary habits came forward to preserve the slighest memorial of her; and she went to her grave as unnoticed as the most obscure of those, who have done nothing worthy of remembrance. Under these circumstances, the writer of this article trusts to a candid reception of this imperfect memoir, while he laments that Mrs. Scott herself shut out some of the best materials, by ordering all her papers and voluminous correspondence, which came into the hands of her executrix, to be burnt: an order much to be lamented, because there is reason to believe, from the fragments which remain in other hands, that her letters abounded with literary anecdotes, and acute observations on character and life.

style was easy, unaffected, and perspicuous; her remarks sound, and her sagacity striking. Though her fancy was not sufficiently powerful to give the highest attraction to a novel, she excelled in ethical remarks, and the annals of the actual scenes of human nature. In dramatic effect, in high-wrought passion, and splendid imagery, perhaps she was deficient.

Imperfect List of Mrs. Scott's Works.

- 1. The History of Cornelia. A Novel. London, Printed for A. Millar. 1750. duod.
- 2. A Journey through every stage of Life. London, for A. Millar. 1754. 2 vols. duod.
- 3. Agreeable Ugliness; or, the Triumph of the Graces. Exemplified in the real life and fortunes of a young lady of some distinction. London, for R. and J. Dodsley. 1754. duod.
- The History of Mecklenburgh. London, for J. Newbery. 1762. 8vo.
- A Description of Millenium Hall. The Second Edition corrected. London, for J. Newbery. 1764. duod.
 - 6. The History of Sir George Ellison, in two vols. London, for A. Millár. 1766. duod.
 - 7. The Test of Filial Duty, in 2 vols. London, for the Author. Sold by T. Carnan, No. 65, St. Paul's Churchyard. 1772. duod.
 - 8. Life of Theodore Agrippe D'Aubigne. As above.

Introduction to the Life of D'Aubigne.

"There is a secret satisfaction in relating the actions of a man, who has particularly engaged our esteem. We flatter ourselves we shall by this means

communicate to others part of the pleasure, which the contemplation of them has afforded ourselves; and we fancy we are doing an act of justice, in holding forth to public view a character, which ought to sink into oblivion, with the despicable race of beings, who in their passage from the cradle to the grave performed no action worthy of record; whether from a regular course of vicious conduct, or from that insipid insignificance, with which the lives of some men are tinctured, in whom though censure can find no grievous offences, candour can discover nothing to commend; who equally void of strong passions to seduce them into evil, or of virtues to stimulate them to worthy actions, are through life, like Mahomet's tomb, suspended between heaven and hell; who, being mere negatives, are destitute of either positive virtue or vice; yet by no means innocent, for they incur great guilt by a neglect of the due exertion of the talents, which were committed to their trust for useful pur-The justice of a fair representation is more especially due to men, from whom it has long been withheld. Such has been the lot of the Huguenots. Their actions have been related by historians, who were under the influence both of party and religious prejudices; men blinded by passion, and warped by interest, as incapable of judging with candour, as averse to acknowledging truths, which might give offence to the powerful. Near the times of the dreadful desolation made by those civil wars, the hatred excited by the contention must have influenced the minds of men, and given asperity to their pens; but many of the French historians

wrote after the cruel and impolitic revocation of the edict of Nantz; and little justice could the Huguenots expect, under the reign of their bigoted persecutor.

"Yet the merit of Theodore Agrippa D'Aubigne was so conspicuous, that there is no doubt, but during the time his granddaughter, Madame de Maintenon, shone in the most exalted sphere, many persons would have been employed in collecting the various incidents of his life, and presenting him in full lustre to the world, had not his attachment to the reformed religion been considered, even by her, as a crime, that overbalanced all his virtues. grity, courage, and constancy, would appear to change their nature, and become criminal in the eyes of so bigoted a woman, when exercised in the defence of tenets, which she considered as heretical. She would reflect with horror on those parts of his conduct, which to the unprejudiced eye appear most laudable: and would blush where she had reason to Had not this been the case, the servile pens of mercenary flatterers would not have been employed in endeavouring to dignify, by a supposed royal descent a man who had so just a title to honour far more intrinsic from his noble actions, and unblemished virtue. But the spirit and constancy, with which he exposed both his life and fortune in defence of his religion, could not be an agreeable subject of contemplation to a woman, who detested the tenets he professed, and practised both deceit and force to prevail on all whom she could influence to abjure them; even the descendants of that man, who from the regular course of his actions we may

reasonably believe would have readily sacrificed his life, could he thereby have purchased for them a steady perseverance in the religion, to which he was so warmly attached.

" I am sensible that when his granddaughter was in the zenith of her power, Agrippa D'Aubigne would have appeared more worthy of attention than at present: but a brave and honest man must always be an interesting object; and the contemplation of great virtues, even of a sort the least suited to the fashion of the times, will ever warm the Of such I trust the subject of the following sheets will be found possessed; though it is certain, that when an author makes choice of a character, because it is particuliarly pleasing to himself, he would be very unreasonable were he to expect, that it would become equally the favorite of his readers. Taste influences our judgments in regard to virtue, as in other things; people differ concerning intellectual as well as corporeal beauty. but they differ only in degrees of approbation; they will give a preference to one particular turn of mind or features, but some charms will be allowed to every object, that can produce any just claim to real beauty, though it be not of the kind most agreeable to the peculiar taste of the spectator or of the reader.

The undeviating rectitude, the perfect consistency, the unspotted virtue of Agrippa D'Aubigne's character render him one of the best examples, that history can exhibit. The camp of Henry IV. and the court of Catharine De Medicis contained many illustrious men. Times of trouble are times of

heroism: but in the shock of interest, the contentions of party rage, and all the heat of irritated ambition, it is very rare to find unshaken integrity: in this time it was still more to be admired, as Catharine De Medicis so eminently possessed, and with such general success employed, the arts of seduction to the ambitious she held forth the temptations of power, to the avaricious of wealth, to the luxurious of pleasure. Never had the great enemy of mankind so able a minister, and so faithful a representative. Every species of dissimulation, every mode of treachery, was adopted by her to allure, to betray, and to ruin; not only on the common frailty of human nature, or on the weakness of peculiar dispositions, did she found her hopes and schemes to corrupt, but even when zeal for right objects was carried beyond just bounds, or a virtue beyond its due proportion, she watched the opportunity for mischief. But D'Aubigne was under a better guard than human prudence; and in spite of all the snares she laid for him, or the temptations, the nature of the times, and the solicitations of a prince he loved put in this way, he walked surely and uprightly, by following invariably the undefiled law, which giveth light to the The faithful disciple of this law, he lived simple. with honour, and died in peace; and possesses the best renown, an honest fame, while his adversary, the pupil of Machiavel, led a life of turbulence and infelicity, and left a memory detested by all good, and despised by all wise men.

" Some may think the conduct of a man, who was not greatly exalted by birth, nor dignified by titles,

nor rendered conspicuous by the splendour of riches, below their notice; but in his own words I will endeavour to obviate the objection. In the beginning of his private memoirs he addresses his children, for whose use he wrote them, nearly to this effect:

" In the works of the ancients, and in the lives of the emperors, and other great men of antiquity, we may be taught both by precept and example, how to repel the attacks of an enemy, and to baffle the machinations of rebellious subjects; but you cannot there find any instructions for common life, which to you, my children, is a more necessary branch of For in the sphere wherein you are to move, the actions of private men, not of princes, are the proper objects of your imitation. You can seldom have to contend with any but your equals: and in your intercourse with them, you will have. more occasion for dexterity and address, than for Henry the Great was not pleased to see force. any of his dependants apply closely to the perusal of the lives of kings and emperors; and having observed Monsieur de Neufry much attached to the study of Tacitus, apprehensive lest a destructive ambition should be excited in a man of his spirit, he advised him to lay aside the book, and confine himself to the histories of persons of his own rank.

"This advice I address to you; and in compliance with your reasonable request, I here give an historical account of my life, with that paternal freedom and confidence which allows me to lay open every action, which it would have been a shameful impertinence to have inserted in my Universal History.

As I can neither blush from conscious vanity in relating my good actions, nor from shame in confessing my faults to you, my children, I shall recount every minute particular, as if you were still sitting on my knee, and listening to me with the amiable simplicity of childish attention My desire is. that what I have done well may inspire you with emulation: and that you may detest and avoid my faults, for I shall lay them all open before you; as they may prove the most useful part of my narration. To you I leave it to make such reflec-- tions upon them as reason and virtue shall suggest. Actions must be judged by their motives, not by their consequences. Good or ill fortune are not at our command: they are dispensed by a superior and wiser power."

"D'Aubigne's address to his children I may apply to my readers. The courage of an Alexander, the popularity of a Cæsar, the arts of an Augustus, or to approach nearer to the pursuits of a nation of politicians, the subtleties of a Machiavel, offer no subject of imitation to the greater part of mankind. Such exalted stations as call for the exertion of talents like theirs are above the reach of most men, and ought to be foreign to their wishes. man of steady integrity, of inflexible virtue, of noble frankness, of disinterested generosity, and of warm and sincere pity, is an object every man may, and every man ought to imitate. Virtue is within the reach of every station; it cannot, at all, wear a dress equally splendid, but it is alike respectable, in its plainest garb and in its richest attire.

"While we admire the heroic virtues of many,

who lived in France at that period, we have reason to return thanks to Providence, that we are born in times wherein such virtues are not called forth in our countrymen by dreadful occasion. A civil war is the nursery of heroes. That slaughter and desolation, which sink the greatest part of a nation into despair and wretchedness, elevate the soul of a brave man almost above mortality. He struggles with that fate, which others droop under, and seeks in the pursuit of glory, for some compensation for the loss of that happiness, of which the ravages of war deprive him, as well as the rest of his countrymen. Animated by a bolder spirit, he attempts to conquer those evils, which softer natures endeavour patiently to endure.

"The seeds of those civil wars, wherein D'Aubigne was engaged during the greatest part of his life, were sown before his birth. The rapid progress of the reformed religion in France alarmed those of the established church, and excited the civil power to take such measures to suppress it, as rather caused its increase; for the effects of persecution have ever been directly contrary to the views of those who employed it. Disappointment added rage to the bigotry of persecutors; and fear and resentment heated the zeal of the persecuted; but the enmity between the two parties did not break out into open hostilities, during the life of Henry II. who was accidentally killed in a tournament by the Count De Montgomery, in July 1559; nor in the short reign of his son and successor, Francis II. but in the minority of Charles IX. who ascended the throne of France on the fifth of December 1560,

the kingdom became involved in all the horrors of a civil war."

Theodore Agrippa D'Aubigne was born 8 Feb. 1550, and died 29 April, 1630, æt. 81, at Geneva.

" D'Aubigne left three children, Constant, his son, and two daughters; the eldest daughter married the Seigneur D'Adets de Caumont, &c. the other the Seigneur de Villette de Mursey. it was for D'Aubigne that he could not see so far into futurity as to know that his grandaughter, by his worthless son, would have so great a share in the revocation of the edict of Nantz, and the subsequent destruction of the reformed churches in France, for the preservation of which he so freely sacrificed his fortune, and would joyfully have laid down his life, could he thereby have purchased their prosperity. The interests of the religion he professed were through life his first object: he wished to extend its influence, and steadily practised the duties it recommended; from which even his passions, strong as they were by nature, could not seduce him. His integrity, his love of civil liberty, and every principle of virtue, were so founded on, or blended with his piety, that neither the sunshine of favour nor the storms of fortune could overcome Ambition could not tempt him to violate the natural probity of his mind, nor to forego his sincerity, though he knew that his fortune was at , stake; that by courtly compliances he should rise to honours and dignities; without them had nothing but neglect, perhaps hatred, to expect; for princes seldom love the man who refuses their favours.

The uncommon brightness of his understanding, and the liveliness of his wit, were such recommendations to him in a court, and especially to a sovereign who had so much himself, and allowed the greatest latitude in that way to all around him, as could not have failed of rendering him a general favourite, if his rigid manners and blunt frankness had not disgusted, because they reproached those whom his conversation delighted. Had he not of himself told us the very early progress he made in letters, it would have been difficult to have reconciled his learning with his military life, which seems to have allowed no leisure for study. At seventeen years old he entered the army; was a captain fifty years, forty-four of which he was maitre de camp, and thirty-two also mareschal de camp; continually engaged in the field or in some military operations; yet his writings are very numerous, and lasting monuments of his genius. Some of them, indeed, though admired at the season they were written, being relative only to the occurrences of those times, have now lost much of their merit, as the poignancy of the satire, and the play of wit to be found in them, are no longer felt, nor in many parts discerned, from our ignorance of the things designed to be ridiculed. Of these are Les Confessions de Sancy, and Les Avantures du Baron de The merit of his General History of Fœneste. his own Time did not depend on times and seasons: it will always be esteemed as one of the best during that period, though none ever produced a greater number of historians, the natural consequence of an uncommon series of interesting and shining events.

"His "Private Memoirs" were written only for the use of his Children, never published by him, nor till very long after his death. He left but two of them, and desired they might never be published. Herein he was disobeyed; and there seems so little reason for burying them in oblivion, that the disobedience is excusable.

Mrs. Scott obtained a just reputation by this life. It is compiled not only from D'Aubigne's own private account, but from the principal historians and memoir-writers of that age: and it is characterized not only by research and knowledge, but by a perspicuous narrative, by a lucid selection and arrangement of materials; by force of sentiment, and vigour of language.

ART. CCCXXXIII. De Anima Medica Prælectio, ex Lumleii et Caldwalli instituto, in Theatro Collegii Regalis Medicorum Londinensium, ad Socios habita, Die Decembris 16¹⁰ Anno 1748²⁰. A Fran. Nicholls, M. D. Reg. Societatis Sodali, et Medico Regio ordinario. Cui, quo clarius eluceant, quæ in ipså Prælectione figurate explicantur, accesserunt Notæ. Editio altera, Notis amplioribus aucta. Cui accessit Disquisitio de Motu Cordis et Sanguinis in homine nato et non nato, Tabulis æneis illustrata. Londini excudebat H. Hughs: Prostat venaļis, apud J. Walter, juxta Charing-Cross. M.DCC.LXXIII. 4to.

Franci Nicholsii, M. D. Georgii Secundi Magnæ Britanniæ Regis Medici ordinarii, Vita: cum conjecturis ejusdem de natura et usu partium humani corporis similarium. Scriptore Thoma Lawrence, M. D. E Collegio Sanctæ Trinitatis Oxon. et Collegii Medicorum Londinensis socio. Londini M.DCC.LXXX. 4to.

DR. FRANK NICHOLLS is recorded in a very short and meagre article in the Biographical Dictionary, in which these two works are mentioned; but Dr. Lawrence, a man equally deserving, the friend of Dr. Johnson, and well known for more than half a century in the circles of literature, is totally omitted, while many a comparatively obscure name has found a place, and a long panegyric, in those volumes.* I know not whether the latter article was ever published: I suspect it was only given away among Dr. Nicholls's friends.

I do not presume to give any criticism on the subject of the first article, a science of which I am totally ignorant, but merely register it here for the notice of those whom such inquiries interest. All I can pretend to form any opinion upon, are the composition and language, which seem perspicuous, classical, and elegant. But the following just and dignified sentiments, with which the first lecture commences, are of general import.

"Si quid inter dignum atque honestum interesse vellem, hunc honesti nomine designarem, qui, dum turpia omnia atque indecora fugit, dum ne injuriam alteri fecerit, cavet, dum eas virtutes colit, quæ hominum fidem atque benevolentiam conciliant; de aliorum rebus, de ipså etiam republicà, parum solicitus, ad se solum, suamque pacem, otium atque,

^{*} This is spoken of the former editors of Biographical Dictionaries, not of Chalmers's, which amply supplies their defects. 1815.

felicitatem omnia refert. Solus contra dignus, solus ille cultu, atque honoribus ornandus videretur, qui ad aliorum commoda magnum aliquid et eximium contulerit: tantumque tribuendum cuique dignitatis, quantum vel suis, vel civibus, vel humano generi profuerit. Eâ enim lege nascimur, et ea habemus principia naturæ, quibus parere, et quæ sequi debemus, ut hominibus consulere, et humanæ societati inservire, debeamus: ut utilitas nostra communis utilitas, vicissimque communis utilitas sit nostra.

"Suæ enim imbecillitatis, atque impotentiæ, conscii in eos omnia homines libenter conferunt, quorum vel opibus, vel consiliis, vel virtutibus fit, ut cum libertate tuti, atque beati vivant. Hinc parentibus apud suos dignitas; hinc magistratibus apud cives auctoritas; hinc purpura, splendoris et imperii insigne, ducibus et regibus communi hominum pacto tribuuntur; hinc æquissimum commercium inter homines instituitur, ut, dum optimi cujusque labore, ingenio, virtute fruimur, amplessimo dignitatis præmio (quæ aliunde non paratur) eadem rependamus. Non fasces itaque, non purpuram, non exstructas in altum divitias, non ingenium artibus, et scientiis, utcunque ornatum et imbutum; sed animum communi utilitati inservientem, dignitas sequitur: cum communi hominum consensu sola sit cultu, atque publicis honoribus, digna illa virtus, quæ ad eorum rem confert, et in promovendâ humani generis felicitate tota occupatur.

"Neque alia est ex consociatis hominibus communitatum ratio; nisi quod, cum honoribus et immunitatibus, ornentur, cum opibus et auctoritate, pacto scedere muniantur, ut junctis viribus, et consiliis, publica utilitati melius consulant et inserviant, neque spem fallere, neque institutionis sua conditiones eludere, sine pravo dedecore, atque turpitudine, possunt."

Dr. Lawrence dedicates his life of Dr. Nicholls to the university of Oxford: and then begins the life, with the following paragraph:

"Nichollsii vitam scripturo non quidem id solum mihi est consilium ut genus, et fortunam, et mores, et vitæ consuetudinem quotidianam eximii illius viri tradam; sed, ut id etiam, quod reipublicæ magis interest, quantum scilicet in natura animali exponenda, quid in vitæ salutisque causis aperiendis et potuerit, et fecerit memorem."

Dr. Frank Nicholls was born in London in 1699, of parents sprung from gentilitial families in Cornwall: his father was a learned and industrious lawyer, who had three sons and one daughter: the eldest son William was educated to merchandise, but did not follow it. Frank was educated at Westminster school, and thence admitted of Exeter College, Oxford, in 1714. Here he became distinguished in the studies of the place; but more particularly in physic, and above all in physiology. Here he read lectures on anatomy with great applause, from whence he went to London, and thence into Cornwall, where he practised for some time with much success, but after a time, weary of the fatigues of country business, he returned to London.

"Nichollsium prælegentem multa laude Oxonienses exceperunt; nam rebus injucundis gratiam, obscuris lucem dedit: præterea orationis splendido quodam genere utebatur, argumentorum momentis

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gravissimis, rerum ubertate summa; non solum igitur iis, qui Oxoniæ medicinæ studio incubuerunt, sese in ejus disciplinam tradidere, sed et alii multi, illecebris doctrinæ liberalis ducti, auditores quidem diligentes fruerunt, ii nimirum, quibus pars physices nulla ab homine docto aliena videbatur." &c.

He now travelled to France and Italy, and on his return gave physiological lectures in London, which were numerously attended, and to which many flocked from Oxford and Cambridge. In 1728 he was elected F. R. S., in 1729 he took his degree of M.D. at Oxford, and returning to London, was on 26 June, 1732, elected a member of the College of Physicians: and after two years read the Gulston lecture there on the fabric of the heart, and the circulation of the blood. In 1739 he read the Hervey oration there; in 1743 he married the daughter and coheir of Dr. Mead. In 1753, on the death of Sir Hans Sloane, he succeeded to the place of king's physician. On the death of George II. which, on opening the body, appeared to have been attended with uncommon circumstances from a bursting of some vessel about the heart, Dr. Nicholls gave a most clear account of it in a letter to lord Macclesfield, as president of the Royal Society, among whose transactions it is published.

At last, says Dr. Lawrence, with a happy elegance and energy, "Pertæsus molestiarum, quæ a miseriis et ineptiis ægrotantium medicinam facientibus gravissimæ esse solent, et simul impatiens urbis iniquæ, in qua hominum subdolorum artes in fama comparanda magis quam eruditio et peritia valent, præterea ut filio adolescenti artibus ingenuis in

academia operam daturo, custos morum, monitorque prudens adesset, a Londino Oxonium, quo ipse ineunte adolescentia in otio jucundissime annos aliquot transegerat, migravit. At postquam jurisprudentiæ studium filium Londinum revocaverat, comparata domo Ebeshami in agro Surriensi, senectutem in otio cum dignitate egit. Nec tamen rerum naturalium curam prorsus abjecit; nam experimentis aptis quæsivit, quid lætas segetes in agro feraci faciat, quid agrum sterilem fæcundet: naturam etiam plantarum interiorem, Linnæo facem præferente, summa admiratione est contemplatus."

At length, worn out, he placidly breathed his last on 7th Jan. 1778, æt. 80.

"Staturæ fuit mediocris, corporis compacti, et cum ævi integer erat, agilis. Facies ei honesta et decora; vultus benevolentiam et dignitatem præ se ferens, ita ut primo aspectu reverentiam simul et amorem astantium sibi conciliaret; varius autem et mutabilis, ut hominis naturæ simplicis et aperti motus animi ex oris immutatione facile cognosceres. Mira suavitate et perspicuitate orationis, et in sermone familiari, et in prælectionibus usus est; in his autem id præcipuæ laudis fuit, ut verbis propriis, ordine lucido extempore prolatis, orationem aliorum meditatam et lepore et vi, et εναργεια facile vinceret.

"In ægrotorum curiatione nihil prius habuit, quam ut signa morbi propria a communibus, quod optime potuit, nempe qui physiologiam perspectam haberet, sejungeret, ut quid oppugnandum esset cognosceret, ut motus, quibus ex naturæ instituto morbi causa vel vinceretur, vel expelleretur, a motibus illis, quibus homo patitur, nihil in malo amoliendo agit, secerneret: illum enim medicinam feliciter facturum putavit non qui symptomatis supprimendis, sed, qui, ex naturæ concilio, vim ejusdem ferocientis temperare, eandem languentem excitare, errantem, in viam reducere contendit. Quis enim prudens in Cholera materiam acrem per alvum exituram cohiberet? Quis malo arthritico cum dolore et inflammatione pedem occupante, morbum in sanguinem repelleret? ut æger molliculus et doloris impatiens αναλγησία frueretur. Nihil siquidem in morbis capitalius esse statuit, quam, morbi causa minime expulsa vel subacta, symptomata evanescere; unde vix aliud expectandum esse experientia docemur, quam ut ægrotus ἀμαργητι manus hosti det.

"Medicamentorum in curationibus, quod satis esset, parca manu adhibuit; religio quippe illi fuit molestiis illis, quas morbus secum ferebat, alias addere. Literis Græcis et Latinis satis doctus; in multis libris legendis nonnullorum obscuram diligentiam contempsit; cum medicinæ principia vera, morborum facies varia, remediorum retendorum ratio paucis libris sint tradita, sententiam vero cujusque vel inepti, vel absurdi, vel delirantis, rogandi laborem stultum censuit.

"E vita excessit septimo die Januarii, anno 1778, annum agens octogesimum, de patria, de uxore, de liberis, de amicis optime meritus, omnibus flebilis, nulli flebilior quam hujus libri scriptori, qui eo multos annos familiarissime usus est, qui eidem quicquid in physiologia et medicina noverit, id præceptis ejus acceptum gratus agnoscit, qui eum, dum viveret, ut fratrem dilexit, ut parentem coluit."

John Nicholls, his only surviving son, was in

parliament many years till the last general election, (viz. 1802.)

Having thus given some account of Dr. Nicholls, I hope I may be permitted to copy from the Gentleman's Magazine (Vol. LVII. p. 191) an excellent Memoir of the writer of his Life, more especially as from some unaccountable neglect the name of this celebrated scholar and most amiable man is omitted in the former editions of the Biographical Dictionary.

DR. LAWRENCE.

MARCH 1, 1787.

"In almost every account which has been published of Dr. Johnson since his death, mention having been made of Dr. Lawrence the physician, and some mistakes concerning him having found their way into most of them, the following short account of his life may not be unacceptable.

"Dr. Thomas Lawrence was the grandson, of another Dr. Thomas Lawrence, who was first physician to queen Anne, and physician general to the army: he lived to a great old age, and held employments under four successive princes, beginning with Charles the Second, by whom he was appointed physician to the garrison at Tangier, part of the dowry of queen Catharine While he was in that station, he married Mary Elizabeth, daughter to the lieutenant-governor of the garrison, by whom he had six sons and three daughters. The eldest daughter, whom we shall have occasion to remember again in the course of this narrative, was married to Mr. Gabriel Ramondon, a French gentleman; and the

second having become a widow by the death of her first husband, colonel Edward Griffith, was afterwards married to lord Mohun, well known for his fatal contest with duke Hamilton, in which both those noblemen lost their lives. All the six sons dedicated themselves to the profession of arms, and two of them were killed in the service of their country, one a soldier and the other a sailor, who was shot in a sea engagement as he stood by the side of his eldest brother Thomas, then a captain in the royal navy, and father to Dr. Lawrence who is the subject of this relation.

"He was born on the 25th of May, 1711, in the parish of St. Margaret, Westminster, the second son of his father, by Elizabeth the daughter of Mr. Gabriel Soulden, merchant of Kinsale in Ireland, and widow of colonel Piers. About the year 1715 captain Lawrence, being appointed to the Irish station, carried his family into that country, where his wife's relations resided. But she dying in the year 1724, and leaving him with five children, one of which was a daughter, he determined, being possessed of a very easy fortune, to quit the navy, and to accept the invitation of his eldest sister Mrs. Ramondon, who was lately become a widow, of settling with her at Southampton, where she undertook the superintendence of his family, till, in the year 1726, he married a second time to Elizabeth the daughter of major Rufane, who survived her husband, and is still alive. Some years after this captain Lawrence went with his family to Greenwich, and soon after his removal thither was appointed one of the captains of the hospital, where he died in December 1747.

"On his arrival at Southampton young Lawrence was placed under the care of the Rev. Mrs. Kingsman, master of the free-school at that place, and there finished his school education, which he had begun at Dublin, and was entered in October 1727 a commoner of Trinity College, Oxford, under the tuition of the Rev. George Huddesford, afterwards president of that College, when he removed to London, where he pursued his studies till some time in the year 1734, and according to the custom of young physicians at that time, took a lodging in the city for the convenience of attending St. Thomas's Hospital, and became a pupil of Dr. Nicholls, who was then reading anatomical lectures in London, with a celebrity never attained by any other before The novelty of his discoveries, the gracefulness of his manner, and the charms of his delivery, attracting to him, not only the medical people in every line, but persons of all ranks and all professions, who crowded upon him from every quarter. What progress Dr. Lawrence made under such a teacher is too well known to be here insisted upon. At these lectures he formed many of those friendships which he most valued during the remainder of his life; and here he was first acquainted with Dr. Bathurst, by whom he was afterwards introduced to the friendship of Dr. Johnson.

"In the year 1740 he took the degree of Doctor of Physic at Oxford, and was upon the resignation of Dr. Nicholis, chosen Anatomical reader in that University, where he read lectures for some years, as he did also in London, having quitted his ledgings in the city for an house in Lincoln's-Inn Fields,

which had before been occupied by Dr. Nicholls, and was vacated by him upon his marriage with the daughter of Dr. Mead.

"On the 25th of May 1744, Dr. Lawrence was married, at the parish church of St. Andrew, Holborn, by Dr. Taylor, Prebendary of Westminster, to Frances the daughter of Dr. Chauncy, a physician at Derby, by whom he had six sons and three daughters. Upon his marriage he took an house in Essex-street in the Strand, where he continued to read his anatomical lectures till the year 1750. After which he laid them aside, and devoted himself more entirely to physick, in which he had for many years a considerable share of business, which he obtained solely by the reputation of his skill and integrity; for he laboured under the disadvantage of very frequent and severe fits of deafness, and knew no art of success but that of deserving it.

"In the same year 1744, he was chosen fellow of the Royal College of Physicians in London, where he read successively all the lectures instituted in that society with great reputation both for his professional knowledge, and for the purity and elegance of his Latin; nor did he confine himself to the oral instruction of his contemporaries, for in 1756 he published a medical disputation de Hydrope, and in 1759 de Natura Musculorum Prelectiones tres; and when the College published the works of Dr. Harvey in 1766, Dr. Lawrence wrote the life which is prefixed to that edition, for which he had a compliment of 100 guineas. In 1759 he was chosen Elect, and in 1767 President of the College of Physicians, to which office he was re-elected for the seven succeeding years.

"In 1773 an event happened to his family, which as it gave occasion to a very elegant Latin Ode by Dr. Johnson, now published, it may not be impertinent to relate in this place. The East India Company being then in the meridian of their power, the second of his sons then alive, a young man of very lively parts and aspiring hopes, was so dazzled by the splendid accounts brought home by the servants of the Company, and had so much fixed his mind upon trying his fortune in that part of the world, that his friends were induced to persuade his father to comply with his inclinations in this point; vet such was his opinion of the corruptions and temptations of the East Indies, that though his son went out with many advantages of connection and recommendation, the grief of so parting with him, dwelt long upon his mind. The supreme court of judicature being established at Calcutta a few years after, Mr. Lawrence complied with the wishes of his friends in returning to the law, for which profession he had been educated, and became an advocate in that court: he died at Madras, whither he went for the recovery of his health, in December 1783, having obtained the rank of second advocate to the East India Company.

"About this time Dr. Lawrence's health began to decline, and he first perceived symptoms of that disorder on the breast, which is called by the physicians the Angina Pectoris, and which continued to afflict him to the end of his life; notwithstanding, he remitted little of his attention, either to study or business; for no man of equal sensibility had a greater contempt of giving way to suffering of any kind; he still continued his custom of rising at very

early hours, that he might secure leisure for study in the quiet part of the day; and his old friend and instructor, Dr. Nicholls, dying in the beginning of the year 1778, he paid a tribute of friendship and gratitude to his memory by writing an account of his life, which was printed in 1780.

"The death of his friend was soon followed by a nearer loss, for on the 2d of January 1780, it pleased God to afflict him by the death of his wife, with whom he had lived with great happiness for above thirty-five years; from this time his health and spirits began more rapidly to decline.

"The following year, the lease of his house in Essex-street being expired, he had nearly agreed for another, which was more commodious, when his family, observing the hourly and alarming alteration of his health, put a stop to the negociation, and prevailed with him to retire from business and London: his own choice inclined him to Oxford, but it being objected that city was not so eligible as some others, for a family that would chiefly consist of women, he at length fixed upon Canterbury, where he hoped that the Cathedral would supply him with a society as suitable, if not so numerous, as that of Oxford.

"In consequence of this resolution, an house was hired at Canterbury, and Dr. Lawrence removed thither with his family on the 16th of June 1782. But so rapid was the progress of his disorder, which now indubitably appeared to be paralytic, had made during the course of the preceding winter, that before the necessary preparations for the removal of his family could be finished, it had by slight but repeated strokes nearly deprived him of the power

of speech, and entirely of the use of his right hand. He continued in this state for almost a year, and died on the 6th of June 1783, loved, honoured, and lamented by all who knew him."

I can add little to this just, modest, and well-written account, which I suspect came from a very near and accomplished relation of the subject of it. There now survive only two children of this learned physician, Elizabeth * widow of George Gipps, Esq. late M. P. for Canterbury, and Sir Soulden Lawrence, Kt. one of the Judges of the King's Bench, to whom it may truly be said, as Milton said in a famous sonnet to one, who was I believe related to this family.

"Lawrence, of virtuous father virtuous son!"
one who is a real honour to the Bench on which he
sits; a true constitutional judge, above the fumes of
pride and power; acute, yet candid; learned, yet
modest; ready, yet patient; firm, yet mild; but who
feels no pleasure in the dignified station which he has
obtained, equal to what he would have received in
the gratification of a fond parent, had he survived
to see his son fulfil all his anxious wishes for him.†

Warton says that "Lawrence, the virtuous father" of Milton, was M. P. for Hertfordshire, in 1653, and that the family appears to have been seated not far from Milton's neighbourhood in Buckinghamshire: for Henry Lawrence's near relation, William Lawrence, a writer, and appointed a Judge in Scotland by Cromwell, and in 1631 a gentleman commoner of Trinity College, Oxford, died at Belfont near Staines in Middlesex, in 1632."—T. Warton's Milton's Juvenile Poems, 1785, p. 361.

^{*}The supposed author of the above Memoir, Mrs. Gibbs, and Sir Soulden Lawrence, both died in the summer of 1814. S. P.

[†] The late Mr. Lawrence of Kirby Fleatham in Yorkshire, M. P. for Rippon, was first cousin to Dr. Lawrence.

ART. CCCXXXIV. A sketch of the genius and writings of Dr. Beattie, with extracts from his Life and Letters, lately published by Sir William Forbes.

SIR WILLIAM FORBES'S long-expected Life of Dr. BEATTIE has at length appeared in two quarto volumes: and I cannot refrain from indulging myself with a few cursory remarks, and a few extracts, while my heart and my head are warm with the subject. Has it added to our admiration of him as an author and a man? It has done both. There are many circumstances which combine to qualify Sir William, in a very uncommon degree, for the biographer of this great poet and philosopher: their long, intimate, and uninterrupted friendship, their habits of constant correspondence, and their congenial turns of mind, in particular; while the talents, and the character of the survivor, and his very extensive and near acquaintance with the most eminent men in the literary world, give a force and authority to his narration, which few eulogists can confer.

But with due respect to the examples of Mr. Mason, and Mr. Hayley, I confess I am not entirely satisfied with the plan of leaving a man to be principally his own biographer, by means of a series of letters, connected by a few short and occasional narratives. I do not mean indeed to depreciate those of Mr. Hayley, by comparing them with his predecessor's, which always from a boy disgusted me with their stiff and barren frigidity; while those of the former glow with all the warmth of friendship,

and congenial poetic feeling: but I allude only to the plan.

There are many points on which there is no doubt that an author can best delineate his own character: but there are others, of which he is totally disqualified to give a fair portrait, and of which, even if he were qualified, it is highly improbable that his Letters should furnish an adequate account.

I trust therefore I may be excused for venturing the opinion which I have long formed, that, though Letters are an excellent, and almost necessary, accompaniment of a Life; and though appropriate extracts from them, and continued references to them may well be introduced in the narrative, yet they should not form the principal part of that narrative, which, as it seems to me, should exhibit one unbroken composition. To leave the generality of readers to collect and combine an entire portrait, or a regular series of events, from the scattered notices of a variety of desultory letters, is to give them credit for a degree of attention, and a power of drawing results, which few will be found to possess, and fewer still have leisure to exercise.

Having thus frankly declared my sentiments, it is almost unnecessary to add, that I prefer the plan adopted by Dr. Currie, in his Life of Burns, to that, which has been chosen by Sir William Forbes for the life of his illustrious friend. In the execution of the mode he has followed, Sir William has discovered a soundness of judgment and taste in his selection, an elegance of language, a purity of sentiment, and an ardour of friendship, which will do him immortal honour. But, as my purpose is not

to criticise the biographer, but to make some slight remarks on the poet, I must proceed.

Beattie was born a poet; that is, he was born with those talents and sensibilities, which, with the assistance of the slightest education, are almost certain in due time to vent themselves in poetry. In the first occupation of his manhood, the care of an obscure country school, Sir Wm. Forbes says, " he had a never failing resource in his own mind; in those meditations which he loved to indulge, amidst the beautiful and sublime scenery of that neighbourhood, which furnished him with endless amusement. At a small distance from the place of his residence, a deep and extensive glen, finely cloathed with wood, runs up into the mountains. Thither he frequently repaired; and there several of his earliest pieces were written. From that wild and romantic spot he drew, as from the life, some of his finest descriptions, and most beautiful pietures of nature, in his poetical compositions. He has been heard to say, for instance, that the description of the owl, in his charming poem "On Retirement,"

"Whence the scar'd owl on pinions grey Breaks from the rustling boughs; And down the lone vale sails away To more profound repose;"

'was drawn after real nature. And the seventeenth stanza of the second Book of The Minstrel, in which he so feelingly describes the spot, of which he most approved, for his place of sepulture, is so very exact a picture of the situation of the churchyard of Lawrencekirk, which stands near to his mother's

house, and in which is the school-house where he was daily taught, that he must certainly have had it in his view, at the time he wrote the following beautiful lines.

'Let Vanity adorn the marble tomb
With trophies, rhymes, and scutcheons of renown,
In the deep dungeon of some Gothic dome,
Where Night and Desolation ever frown!
Mine be the breezy hill that skirts the down,
Where a green grassy turf is all I crave,
With here and there a violet bestrown,
Fast by a brook, or fountain's murmuring wave;
And many an evening sun shine sweetly on my grave.'

"It was his supreme delight to saunter in the fields the livelong night, contemplating the sky, and marking the approach of day; and he used to describe with peculiar animation the soaring of the lark in a summer morning. A beautiful landscape. which he has magnificently described in the twentieth stanza of the first book of The Minstrel, corresponds exactly with what must have presented itself to his poetical imagination, at those occasions, on the approach of the rising sun, as he would view the grandeur of that scene from the hill in the neighbourhood of his native village. The high hill, which rises to the west of Fordoune would, in a misty morning, supply him with one of the images so beautifully described in the twenty-first And the twentieth stanza of the second book of The Minstrel describes a night-scene unquestionably drawn from nature, in which he probably had in view Homer's sublime description of the Moon, in the eighth book of the Iliad, so admirably translated by Pope, that an eminent critic has not scrupled to declare it to be superior to the original. He used himself to tell, that it was from the top of a high hill in the neighbourhood, that he first beheld the ocean, the sight of which, he declared, made the most lively impression on his mind.

"It is pleasing, I think, to contemplate these his early habits, so congenial to the feelings of a poetical and warm imagination; and therefore, I trust, I shall be forgiven for having dwelt on them so long."

Sir William Forbes need have made no apology for the length of these passages. I would have said "O si sic omnia!" but that it would seem to imply some censure; and I well know that all could not be like this. We cannot always be watching the dawn of day "on the misty mountain's top;" nor be constantly wandering "alone and pensive" by the "pale beams" of the "Queen of Night." But it will not be doubted, that in the occupations of " young Edwin" the poet described many of his own early propensities and amusements. I do not. agree therefore with an eminent critic,* who observing that Edwin " is marked from his cradle with those dispositions and propensities, which were to be the foundation of his future destiny," adds, "I believe it would be difficult in real biography to trace any such early indications of a genius exclusively fitted for poetry; nor do I ima-, gine that an exquisite sensibility to the sublime

^{*} Dr. Aikin's Letters on English Poetry.

and beautiful of nature is ever to be found in minds, which have not been opened by a degree of culture." The interposition indeed of the word "exclusively" a little qualifies the assertion; but the endowments attributed by the poet to Edwin, though they are not exclusively, are more peculiarly, adapted to poetical eminence.

If this assertion then, be true, that the delineation of the infant Minstrel was essentially that of the author, for which we have the authority of Sir W. Forbes, and even of Beattie himself, there is an end to the denial of particular genius, which Johnson was so fond of urging, and which so many, on his great, but surely far from infallible, judgment, are fond of repeating. Every one possessed of equal fancy and equal sensibility of heart with Beattie, would feel in childhood similar sentiments and similar pleasures: and I think it must not be questioned that the impression of those sentiments and those pleasures would lead a person of equal capacity more peculiarly, not only to the inclination, but, with the aid of a little industry, to the power, of composing poetry.

I assert again therefore that the hand of Nature impressed on Beattie's mind the character of a poet. He afterwards became a philosopher by the effect of accident, and study. All this indeed he appears to me to have confirmed by his own direct declarations.

Hear him in a letter to Dr. Blacklock, dated 9 Jan. 1769.

**** "Perhaps you are anxious to know what first induced me to write on this subject;" (Truth.)

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"I will tell you as briefly as I can. In my younger days I read chiefly, for the sake of amusement, and I found myself best amused with the Classics, and what we call the Belles Lettres. Metaphysics I disliked; mathematics pleased me better; but I found my mind neither improved, nor gratified by When Providence allotted me my present station" (of Professor of Moral Philosophy) "it became incumbent on me to read what had been written on the subject of Morals and Human Nature: the works of Locke, Berkeley, and Hume, were celebrated as master-pieces in this way; to them therefore I had recourse. But as I began to study them with great prejudices in their favour, you will readily conceive, how strangely I was surprised to find them, as I thought, replete with absurdities: I pondered these absurdities: I weighed the arguments, with which I was sometimes not a little confounded; and the result was, that I began at last to suspect my own understanding, and to think that I had not capacity for such a study. I could not conceive it possible that the abourdities of these authors were so great, as they seemed to me to be; otherwise, thought, I, the world would never admire them so much. About this time, some excellent antisceptical works made their appearance, particularly Reid's "Inquiry into the Human Mind." Then it was that I began to have a little more confidence in my own judgment, when I found it confirmed by those, of whose abilities I did not entertain the least distrust. I reviewed my authors again with a very different temper of mind. very little truth will sometimes enlighten a vast extent of science. I found that the sceptical philosophy was not what the world imagined it to be; but a frivolous, though dangerous, system of verbal subtlety, which it required neither genius, nor learning, nor taste, nor knowledge of mankind, to be able to put together; but only a captious temper, an irreligious spirit, a moderate command of words, and an extraordinary degree of vanity and presumption. You will easily perceive that I am speaking of this philosophy only in its most extravagant state, that is, as it appears in the works of Mr. Hume. The more I study it, the more am I confirmed in this opinion," &c.

***** "I am convinced that this metaphysical spirit is the bane of true learning, true taste, and true science: that to it we owe all this modern scepticism, and atheism; that it has a bad effect upon the human faculties, and tends not a little to sour the temper, to subvert good principles, and to disqualify men for the business of life. You will now see wherein my views differ from those of other I want to shew the answerers of Mr. Hume. world; that the sceptical philosophy is contradictory to itself, and destructive of genuine philosophy, as well as of religion and virtue; that it is in its own nature so paltry a thing, (however it may have been celebrated by some) that to be despised it needs only to be known; that no degree of genius is necessary to qualify a man for making a figure in this pretended science; but rather a certain minuteness and suspiciousness of mind and want of sensibility, the very reverse of true intellectual excellence; that metaphysics cannot possibly do any

good, but may do, and actually have done, much harm; that sceptical philosophers; whatever they may pretend, are the corrupters of science, the pests of society, and the enemies of mankind," &c. ****

In a Letter to Major Mercer,* dated 26 Nov. 1769, he says,

. ***. " I intend to bid adieu to metaphysics, and all your authors of profound speculation: for, of all the trades, to which that multifarious animal, man, can turn himself, I am now disposed to look upon intense study as the idlest, the most unsatisfying, and the most unprofitable. You cannot easily conceive with what greediness I now peruse the " Arabian Nights Entertainments," " Gulliver's Travels." "Robinson Crusoe," &c. I am like a man, who has escaped from the mines, and is now drinking in the fresh air and light, on the top of some of the mountains of Dalecarlia. These books put me in mind of the days of former years, the romantic æra of fifteen, or the still more careless period of nine, or ten, the scenes of which; as they now stand pictured to my fancy, seem to be illuminated with a sort of purple kight, formed with the softest, purest gales, and painted with a verdure, to which nothing similar is to be found in the degenerate summers of modern times. Here I would quote the second stanza of Grav's & Ode on Eton College," but it would take up too much room, and you certainly have it by heart."

The above extracts discover the origin of Beattie's

^{*} Major Mercer was himself:a poet.1: 1.

philosophical works. Those which follow exhibit: the first traces of his incomparable poems. "The Minstrel."

Dr. Beattie to Dr. Blacklock, 22 Sept. 1766.

*****. "Not long ago I began a poem in the style and stanza of Spenser, in which I propose to give full scope to my inclination, and be either droll or pathetic, descriptive or sentimental, tender or satirical, as the humour strikes me; for, if I mistake not, the manner, which I have adopted, admits equally of all these kinds of composition. I have written one hundred and fifty lines, and am surprised to find the structure of that complicated stanza so little troublesome. I was always fond of it; for I think it the most harmonious that ever was contrived. It admits of more variety of pauses than either the couplet, or the alternate rhyme: and it concludes with a pomp, and majesty of sound, which, to my ear, is wonderfully delightful. seems also very well adapted to the genius of our language, which, from its irregularity of inflexion and number of monosyllables, abounds in diversified terminations, and consequently renders our poetry susceptible of an endless variety of legitimate rhymes. But I am so far from intending this performance for the press, that I am morally certain it never will be finished. I shall add a stanza now and then, when I am at leisure; and when I have no humour for any other amusement: but I am resolved to write no more poetry with a view to publication, till I see some dawnings of a poetical

taste among the generality of readers, of which phowever, there is not at present any thing like an appearance."

To the same, 20 May, 1767.

"My performance in Spenser's stanza has not advanced a single line, these many months. called "The Minstrel." The subject was suggested by a dissertation on the old minstrels, which is prefixed to a collection of ballads lately published by Dodsley, in three, volumes.* I propose to give an account of the birth, education, and adventures. of one of those bards; in which I shall have full scope for description, sentiment, satire, and even a certain species of humour and of pathos, which, in the opinion of my great master, are by no means inconsistent, as is evident from this works. My hero is to be born in the south of Scotland, which you know, was the native land, of the English Minstrels; I mean of those Minstrels, who travelled into England; and supported themselves there by singing their ballads to the harp. His father is a shepherd. The son will have a natural taste for music and the beauties of nature; which, however, languishes for want of culture, till in due time he meets with a hermit, who gives him some instruction; but endeavours to check his genius for poetry and adventures, by representing the happiness of obscurity and solitude, and the bad reception which poetry has met with in almost every age. The poor

^{*} The Reliques of ancient English poetry, by Dr. Percy, published in 1765.

swain acquiesces in this advice, and resolves to follow his father's employment, when on a sudden the country is invaded by Danes, or English Borderers, (I know not which,) and he is stripped of all his little fortune, and obliged by necessity to commence Minstrel. This is all that I have as vet concerted of the plan.* I have written 150 lines; but my hero is not yet born, though now in a fair way of being so; for his parents are described, and married. I know not whether I shall ever proceed any farther; however, I am not dissatisfied with what I have written."

In the course of two more years Beattie finished the first canto of this enchanting poem; and published it early in the spring of 1771. It instantly attracted the public attention, and raised the author into the first ranks of fame. Gray praised it with a warm and disinterested energy; and it seemed to have electrified Lord Lyttelton, who spoke of it in a much higher tone of eloquence, than he was accustomed to reach. I cannot resist transcribing the short but beautiful letter here.

Lord Lyttelton to Mrs. Montagu, 8 March, 1771.

"I read your "Minstrel" last night, with as much rapture, as Poetry, in her noblest sweetest charms, ever raised in my soul. It seemed to me,

^{*} But he once afterwards told Sir W. Forbes, "he proposed to have introduced a foreign enemy as invading his country, in consequence of which The Minstrel was to employ himself in rousing his countrymen to arms." Life, I. 203. This was probably the result of his friend Gray's suggestion.

that .my once most beloved minstrel, Thomson, was come down from heaven, refined by the converse of purer spirits than those he lived with here, to let me hear him sing again the beauties of nature, and the finest feelings of virtue, not with human, but with angelic strains! I beg you to express my gratitude to the poet for the pleasure he has given me. Your eloquence alone can do justice to my sense of his admirable genius, and the excellent use he makes of it. Would it were in my power to do him any service!"*

In a letter dated 6 July, 1772, the author declares that the second canto had been nearly finished these two years: but it was not published till 1774, accompanied by a new edition of the first canto.

In the mean time Beattie's domestic afflictions increased with his fame; and embittered the exquisite satisfaction, which he would otherwise have derived from the flattering station he now held in society. To these I think we must attribute the change of sentiments on a very important topic, which the latter part of the fellowing most eloquent letter seems to discover.

Dr. Beattie to Mrs. Montagu, 26 July, 1773.

"Your most obliging and most excellent letter of the 14th current, bore the impression of Socrates on

^{*} The Rev. Mr. Allison, the elegant author of "Essays on the Nature and Principles of Taste," and the husband of Dr. Gregory's daughter, feelingly observes "I do not know any thing that Lord Lyttelton has written, that so strongly marks the sensibility and purity of his taste. The allusion to Thomson is singularly affecting, and constitutes the finest praise, that ever was bestowed on a poet."

the outside. He, if I mistake not, piqued himself on having constantly resided in Athens, and used to say, that he found no instruction in stones or trees: but you. Madam, better skilled in the human heart. and more thoroughly acquainted with all the sublimest affections, do justly consider that quiet which the country affords, and those soothing and elevating sentiments, which "rural sights and rural sounds" so powerfully inspire, as necessary to purify the soul. and raise it to the contemplation of the first and greatest good. Yet, I think, you rightly determine. that absolute solitude is not good for us. The social affections must be cherished, if we would keep both mind and body in good health. The virtues are all so nearly allied, and sympathise so strongly with each other, that if one is borne down, all the rest feel it, and have a tendency to pine away. The more we love one another, the more we shall love our Maker: and if we fail in duty to our common parent, our brethren of mankind will soon discover that we fail in duty to them also.

"In my younger days I was much attached to solitude, and could have envied even "The Shepherd of the Hebride isles, placed far amid the melancholy main." I wrote Odes to Retirement, and wished to be conducted to its deepest groves, remote from every rude sound, and from every vagrant foot. In a word, I thought the most profound solitude the best. But I have now changed my mind. Those solemn and incessant energies of imagination, which naturally take place in such a state, are fatal to the health and spirits, and tend to make us more and more unfit for the business of life: the soul deprived

of those ventilations of passion, which arise from social intercourse, is reduced to a state of stagnation; and if she is not of a very pure consistence indeed, will be apt to breed within herself many "monstrons and many prodigious things," of which she will find it no easy matter to rid herself, even when she is become sensible of their noxious nature."

I have no room here to enter into a disquisition mon the very interesting subject of solitude. The objections to it thus urged by Beattie deserve, no doubt, very serious consideration. But they do not convince me, expressed, as they are, in general terms. Nav. I confess I could have wished they had never appeared under this poet's authority; because they take something from the pleasure we feel in some of the finest passages of his best poems. For my part, it appears to me, that as long as God endows individuals with more energetic capacities, with more tender sensibilities, with higher hopes, and sublimer sentiments than the mass of mankind. so long must solitude be the proper sphere of their human existence. If it do tend to "make us unfit for the business of life." it fits us for something much better: for that intellectual eminence and purity of heart, which exalt our nature, and almost lift us into an higher order of beings; for those mental exertions, by which the heads and hearts of thousands have, century after century, been ameliorated, and drawn away from the low and selfish ambitions of the world; and by which nations have sometimes been electrified from their slumbers into efforts that have saved them from impending destruction! I am

now older than Dr. Beattie was, when he expressed these sentiments, and I do not find my love of selitude diminish. I discover no "stagnation of the soul;" the day is not long enough for the enjoyment of my books, and those pure and innocent wanderings of the fancy, in which I delight; and in the deep woods and silent vallies, I find "no monsters" of horror, which, alas! I too frequently meet in society; but on the contrary,

"Resentment sinks; Disgust within me dies, And Charity, and meek Forgiveness rise, And melt my soul, and overflow mine eyes."

Although Dr. Beattie experienced the happiness, as a philosopher, to have almost all the eminent divines on his side, such as Porteus, Hurd, Markham, &c. yet it seems he had not the unanimous concurrence of the Bench of Bishops. For in a letter to Mrs. Montagu, of 13th March 1774, he says, "Pray, Madam, be so good as to favour me with some account of the Bishop of Carlisle, Dr. Law, if he happens to be of your acquaintance. His Lordship, in a book lately published, has been pleased to attack me in a strange manner, * though in few words, and very superciliously seems to con-

The Bishop was of a school of philosophers and divines, whom we have since had the happiness of seeing go out of fashion. But when the Editor was at Cambridge, the prejudices in favour of the dry, coarse, and fallacious modes of thinking and reasoning, of this hard old man, who then resided there, had not ceased. He was father of the present Lord Ellenborough.

Considerations on the Theory of Religion, by Edmund Lord Bishop of Carlisle, p. 431. Forbes.

demn my whole book; because I believe "in the identity of the human soul, and that there are innate powers, and implanted instincts in our nature." He hints, too, at my being a native of Scotland, and imputes my unnatural way of reasoning, (for so he characterizes it) to my ignorance of what has been written on the other side of the question, by some late authors. It would be a very easy matter for me to return such an answer to his lordship, as would satisfy the world that he has been rather hasty in signing my condemnation; but perhaps it would be better to take no notice of it: I shall be determined by your advice. His doctrine is, that the human soul forfeited its immortality by the fall, but regained it in consequence of the merits of Jesus Christ; and that it cannot exist without the body; and must, therefore, in the interval between death and the resurrection, remain in a state of nonexistence. The theory is not a new one; but his Lordship seems to be one of the most sanguine of its adherents. Some of the objections, drawn from the scripture, he gets the better of by a mode of criticism, which I humbly think, would not be admitted in a commentary upon any other book."

In 1776 Dr. Beattie published his "Essays on Poetry and Music; Laughter and Ludicrous Composition: and on the Utility of Classical Learning." "My principal purpose," says he, "was to make my subject plain and entertaining; and, as often as I could, the vehicle of moral instruction; a purpose, to which every part of the philosophy of the human mind, and indeed of science in general, may, and

ought, in my opinion, to be made in some degree subservient."

I will now add a few, and a very few, miscellaneous extracts; for I fear this article already grows too long.

"Johnson's harsh and foolish censure of Mrs. Montagu's book does not surprise me; for I have heard him speak contemptuously of it. It is, for all that, one of the best, most original, and most elegant pieces of criticism in our language, or any other. Johnson had many of the talents of a critic; but his want of temper, his violent prejudices, and something, I am afraid, of an envious turn of mind, made him often a very unfair one. Mrs. Montagu was very kind to him; but Mrs. Montagu has more wit than any body; and Johnson could not bear that any person should be thought to have wit but himself. Even Lord Chesterfield, and what is more strange, even Mr. Burke he would not allow to have wit! He preferred Smollet to Fielding. He would not grant that Armstrong's poem on "Health," or the tragedy of " Douglas," had any merit. He told me that he never read Milton through, till he was obliged to do it, in order to gather words for his Dictionary. He spoke very peevishly of the Masque of Comus; and when I urged that there was a great deal of exquisite poetry in it; "Yes," said he, "but it is like gold hid under a rock;" to which I made no reply; for indeed I did not well understand it. Pray, did you ever see Mr. Potter's "Remarks on Johnson's Lives of the Poets?" It is very well worth reading."

"What Mrs. Piozzi says of Goldsmith is perfectly true. He was a poor fretful creature, eaten up with affectation and envy. He was the only person I ever knew, who acknowledged himself to be envious. In Johnson's presence he was quiet enough; but in his absence, expressed great uneasiness in hearing him praised. He envied even the dead: he could not bear that Shakspeare should be so much admired as he is. There might, however, be something like magnanimity in envying Shakspeare and Dr. Johnson; as in Julius Cæsar's weeping to think, that at an age at which he had done so little. Alexander should have done so much. But surely Goldsmith had no occasion to envy me: which, however, he certainly did; for he owned it. (though, when we met, he was always very civil:) and I received undoubted information, that he seldom missed an opportunity of speaking ill of me behind my back. Goldsmith's common conversation was a strange mixture of absurdity and silliness; of silliness so great as to make me think sometimes that he affected it. Yet he was a great genius of no mean rank: somebody who knew him well called His ballad of " Edwin and him an inspired idiot. Angelina," is exceedingly heautiful; and in his two other poems, though there be great inequalities, there is pathos, energy, and even sublimity."

In 1790 Beattie lost his eldest son; and in 1796, his remaining son. These successive shocks were too much for a tender heart, already half broken by the sorrow for their mother's incurable malady. From the last event he at times lost his senses. "A

deep gloom," says he, "hangs upon me, and disables all my faculties; and thoughts so strange sometimes occur to me, as to make me "fear that I am not," as Lear says, "in my perfect mind."

Yet, on 15th May, 1797, he wrote a letter to Mr. Frazer Tytler, somewhat in his former manner; from whence the following extract is derived.

"There is one translation, which I greatly admire, but am sure you never saw, as you have not mentioned it: the book is indeed very rare; I obtained it with difficulty by the friendship of Tom Davies, an old English bookseller; I mean, Dobson's "Paradisus Amissus;" my son studied, and I believe, read every line of it. It is more true to the original, both in sense and spirit, than any other poetical version of length, that I have seen. The author must have had an amazing command of Latin phraseology, and a very nice ear in harmony.****

"Being curious to know some particulars of Dobson, I inquired of him at Johnson, who owned he had known him, but did not seem inclined to speak on the subject. But Johnson hated Milton from his heart; and he wished to be himself considered as a good Latin poet; which however, he never was, as may be seen by his translation of Pope's Messiah. All that I could ever hear of Dobson's private life was, that in his old age he was given to drinking. My edition of his book is dated 1750. It is dedicated to Mr. Benson, who was a famous admirer of Milton; and from the dedication it would seem to

have been written at his desire, and under his patronage.*

1798. "I am acquainted with many parts of your excursion through the north of England, and very glad that you had my old friend Mr. Gray's "Letters" with you, which are indeed so well written, that I have no scruple to pronounce them the best letters that have been printed in our language. Lady Mary Montagu's "Letters" are not without merit, but are too artificial and affected to be confided in as true; and Lord Chesterfield's have much greater faults; 'indeed, some of the greatest that letters can have: but Gray's letters are always sensible, and of classical conciseness and perspicuity.

Dr. J. Warton says, that Benson "gave Dobson 1000l. for his Latin translation of Paradise Lost. Dobson had acquired great reputation by his translation of Prior's Solomon, the first book of which he finished, when he was a scholar at Winchester college. He had not at that time, as he told me, (for I knew him well) read Lucretius, which would have given a richness and force to his verses; the chief fault of which was a monotony, and want of variety of Virgilian pauses. Mr. Pope wished him to translate the Essay on Man, which he began to do; but relinquished on account of the impossibility of imitating its brevity in another language. He has avoided the monotony abovementioned in his Milton; which monotony was occasioned by translating a poem in rhyme. Bishop Hare, a capable judge, used to mention his Solomon as one of the purest pieces of modern Latin poetry. Though he had so much felicity in translating, yet his original poems, of which I have seen many, were very feeble and flat, and contained no mark of genius. He had no great stock of general literature, and was by no means qualified to pronounce on what degree of learning Pope possessed; and I am surprised that Johnson should quote him, as saying "I found Pope had more learning than I expected." Warton's Pope, V. 240.

They very much resemble what his conversation was. He had none of the airs of either a scholar or a poet; and though on those, and on all other subjects, he spoke to me with the utmost freedom, and without any reserve, he was, in general company, much more silent than one could have wished."

Dr. Beattie died 18 Aug. 1803, æt. 68.

His character, has been as justly and eloquently, as briefly, sketched by Mrs. Montagu, in a letter to "We considered you," says she, "as a poet, with admiration; as a philosopher, with respect; as a Christian, with veneration; and as a friend, with affection." He clearly directed his ambition to excellence, rather as a philosopher, than as a poet; and yet it is apparent, that these studies were not congenial to his natural taste; but that they fatigued and oppressed him. In these paths he seems to have arrived at the utmost height, of which his powers were capable; but this is far from being the case with the poetry he has left. Beautiful as is his Minstrel, yet, had he concluded it on the plan he originally intended, which I must venture, in opposition to Dr. Aikin, to say, was easily within the scope of his genius, he would have contributed very materially both to its variety and its interest. I will add that the innocent and exalted occupation might have soothed his broken spirits, and gilded the clouds of his latter days.

It is not easy to guess, when we consider the opinions which this excellent author himself promulgated in his philosophical works, on what ground he depreciated the dignity, or the use, of his capacity

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as a poet. But it is certain that, at least for the last thirty years of his life, he did slight and neglect it most unjustly. There is no adequate reason for considering it inconsistent with his professional functions, which his exemplary virtue induced him to discharge with uncommon industry and attention. It would, on the contrary, have relieved the toil of them, by a delightful diversity of ideas. But it may be suspected, that there was a certain timidity in this good man's mind, not entirely consonant with the richness of his endowments. In the cause of religion indeed, his piety made him bold; but he was otherwise a little too sensible of popular prejudices.

The goodness of the cause, and the particular occasion, has added an accidental value to his great philosophical work, "The Essay on Truth." But I believe I am not singular in asserting, that his genius is least capable of rivalry in that "Minstrel," on which he bestowed so little comparative attention: while it is apparent that, even there, his severer studies occasionally encumbered and depressed his fancy. Burns knew better the strength, which Nature had bestowed on him; and giving full scope to it, succeeded accordingly.

The Letters, which are now published, exhibit Dr. Beattie's moral character in the most amiable light. Their style unites ease and elegance; and they prove the correctness of his opinions, the nicety of his taste, and the soundness of his judgment. They discover, above all, the tenderness of his heart, and the fervor of his religion. But the frankness of truth demands from me the confession,

that they do not appear to me to possess those characteristic excellencies, as literary compositions, which enchant us in the letters of Burns and Cowper; and which none but themselves could have written. He has nothing like the touching simplicity of the poet of Weston; nor any thing like the ardent eloquence of the Bard of Airshire.* He scarce ever indulges in sallies congenial with the rich warblings, which used to flow so copiously from the harp of the inspired Edwin.

I would now willingly enter into the peculiar traits both of the poetical and prose works on which Beattie's fame was founded; but this article is already too long; (I hope my readers will not think it out of place;) and I have now neither room nor leisure for more, except to say, that as a poet he possessed an originality, and an excellence, to which I doubt whether justice has yet been done. †

July 2, 1806.

This intention, announced in 1806, has never since proceeded a step towards execution. But what a series of occupations, and anxieties, and changes has the author experienced in the nine basy years that have since elapsed! July 9, 1815.

^{*} I do not recollect that the names of Cowper, or Burns, once occur in Beattie's own letters, which is singular.

[†] It has long been my wish, if Providence should ever permit me a little continued leisure from the sorrows and perplexities, by which I have for some years been agitated, to enter into an entire separate Disquisition on the Poetical Character; its tendencies; the mode in which it should be cherished; and the benefits to be derived from it. 1806.

ART. CCCXXXV. Sketch of the Life and Character of Dr. Joseph Warton, with an account of Mr. Wooll's Memoirs of him.

THE Rev. John Wooll, a Wykehamist, now master of Midhurst school, in Sussex, has just published, in a quarto volume, the Life, Poems, and Correspondence of Dr. Joseph Warton. I shall venture, as I have done in the case of Dr. Beattie, to make a few extracts and remarks on it.

It appears that Dr. Warton, was born at the house of his maternal grandfather, the Rev. Joseph Richardson, at Dunsfold in Surrey, in April 1722. His father, as is well known, was Vicar of Basingstoke, in Hampshire, had been professor of Poetry at Oxford, and was himself a poet: as is proved by a posthumous volume, published by this, his eldest son, with the following title.

Poems on several occasions. By the Reverend Mr. Thomas Warton, Batchelor of Divinity, late Vicar of Basingstoke in Hampshire, and sometime Professor of Poetry in the University of Oxford.

Nec lusisse pudet. HOR.

London. Printed for R. Manby and H. S. Cox, on Ludgate Hill. 1748. 8vo. pp. 228. Dedicated to Fulwar, Lord Craven.

It was published by subscription. The editor had it some time in hand. In a letter to his brother Thomas, dated 29 Oct. 1746, he says, "Since you left Basingstoke, I have found a great many poems of my father's, much better than any we read together. These I am strongly advised to publish

by subscription, by Sir Stukely Shuckhurgh, Dr. Jackson, and other friends. These are sufficient to make a six shilling octavo volume; and they imagine, as my father's acquaintance was large, it would be easy to raise two or three hundred pounds; a very solid argument in our present situation. It would more than pay all my father's debts. Let me know your thoughts upon this subject; but do not yet tell Hampton, or Smythe, who would at first condemn us, without knowing the prudential reasous, which induced us to do it." The author died in the preceding year, 1745.

But Joseph Warton had already published a quarto pamphlet of his own poems, as I shall particularize presently. He was admitted on the foundation of Winchester college, 1736, and soon distinguished himself for his poetical talents. As early as Oct. 1739, he became a contributor to the poetry of the Gentleman's Magazine, in conjunction with his friend Collins, and another, by some verses entitled "Sappho's Advice," signed *Monitorius*, and printed at p. 545.* In 1740, he was removed from Winchester, and being superannuated, was entered of Oriel College, Oxford.

How he spent his time at Oxford may be guessed from the following interesting and eloquent passages of a letter to his father. "To help me in some parts of my last collections from Longinus, I

^{*} It is worth remarking how many first productions of persons of genius this Magazine has ushered into the world. In the same month appears Akenside's "Hymn to Science," dated from "Newcastle upon Tyne," 1739; in the next page appears a juvenile sonnet by Collins, signed Delicatulus; and in the next month, p. 599, is inserted Mrs. Carter's beautiful Ode to Melancholy.

have read a good part of Dionysius Halicarnassus: so that I think by this time I ought fully to understand the structure and disposition of words and sentences. I shall read Longinus as long as I live: it is impossible not to catch fire and raptures from his glowing style. The noble causes he gives at the conclusion for the decay of the sublime amongst men, to wit, the love of pleasure, riches and idleness, would almost make one look down upon the world with contempt, and rejoice in, and wish for toils, poverty and dangers, to combat with. For me, it only serves to give me a greater distaste, contempt, and hatred of the Profanum Vulgus, and to tread under foot this αγεννεστατον πάθος, as thoroughly below, and unworthy of man. It is the freedom, you give me, of unburdening my soul to you, that has troubled you so long: but so it is that the next pleasant thing to conversing with you, and hearing from you is writing to you: I promise myself a more exalted degree of pleasure next vacation, by being in some measure better skilled to converse with you than formerly."

In 1744 he took his degree of A. B. was ordained on his father's curacy, and officiated there, till Feb. 1746. In this year he published,

· " Odes on various subjects.

Έχορευσε δ' αμφὶ σὰν κιθάρων Φοιβε ποικιλόθριξ, Νεβρὸς ὑψικόμων περαν Βάινεσ' ε'λατᾶν σφυρω κέφω, Χαιρεσ' ἔυφρονι μολπῷ"

Euripides in Alceste.

By Joseph Warton, B. A. of Oriel College, Oxon. London. Printed for R. Dodsley, at Tully's Head in Pall Mall, and sold by M. Cooper in Paternoster Row, 1746." 4to. pp. 47.

The greater part of these have been republished by Mr. Wooll. There seems no sufficient reason for what he has omitted. The whole have been lately reprinted for Sharpe's edition of the Poets.

In the following year he was presented by the Duke of Bolton to the small rectory of Wynslade. at the back of Hackwood Park, a pleasing and picturesque retirement, which gave him an opportunity at once of gratifying an ardent attachment by marriage, and pursuing his poetical studies. Two years afterwards he was called to go abroad with his patron; and on this occasion his brother, Thomas, wrote that beautiful "Ode sent to a friend on leaving a favourite village in Hampshire," which alone, in my opinion, would place him in the higher order of poets; and which is one of the most exquisite descriptive pieces in the whole body of English poetry. Every line paints, with the nicest and most discriminative touches, the scenery about Wynslade and Hackwood.

"Ah! mourn, thou lov'd retreat! No more Shall classic steps thy scenes explore!"

"For lo! the Bard, who rapture found In every rural sight and sound; Whose genius warm, and judgment chaste No charm of genuine nature pass'd; Who felt the Muse's purest fires, Far from thy favour'd haunt retires: Who peopled all thy vocal bowers
With shadowy Shapes, and airy Powers!"

The first of T. Warton's sonnets is also addressed to Wynslade: and the images in several of his other poems are drawn from this neighbourhood.*

In about six months, when they had advanced no farther than Montauban, Dr. Warton left his patron, and returned to his family. He now dedicated his whole time to the Translation of Virgil's Eclogues and Georgics: which he soon afterwards published, with Pitt's Translation of the Æneid, and the original Latin of the whole; accompanied by notes, dissertations, commentaries, and essays. This work was well received; and Oxford conferred the degree of A. M. by diploma on the Editor.

At this time Dr. Johnson, in a letter dated 8 March 1753, applied to him from Hawksworth to assist in the Adventurer. "Being desired," says he, "to look out for another hand, my thoughts necessarily fixed on you, whose fund of literature will enable you to assist them, with very little interruption of your studies," &c. &c. "The province of Criticism they are desirous to assign to the Commentator on Virgil." His first paper, I believe, is No. 49, 24 April, 1753, containing "a Parallel between ancient and modern learning." His communications are undoubtedly the best of the whole work; and are written with an extent of eradition, a force of thought, and a purity, elegance, and

^{*} The lines which begin

[&]quot;Musing through the lawny park"
I presume to allude to Hackwood, &c.

⁺ Boswell's Life of Johnson, I. 224.

vigour of language, which demand very high praise.

He now planned to unite in a volume, and publish "Select Epistles of Angelus Politianus, Desiderius Erasmus, Hugo Grotius, and others," a part of a design for a History of the Revival of Learning, which had also been agitated by his brother, and his friend Collins; but which unfortunately none of them executed.

In 1754 he obtained the living of Tunworth, near Wynslade; and in 1755 was elected second Master of Winchester School.

In 1756 he published the first volume of his "Essay on the genius and writings of Pope:" "A book," says the supercilious Johnson, "which teaches how the brow of criticism may be smoothed, and how she may be enabled, with all her severity, to attract and to delight; but which, as it counteracted the stream of fashion, and opposed long received prejudices, did not meet with unqualified approbation. He did not put his name to it, nor did he communicate the information to many of his literary friends; but it was immediately known to be his. Richardson, I think, calls it an amusing piece of literary gossip. Richardson, though a genius, was not a man of literature; or he never could have called it "gossip." The critical observations are almost always just, original, and happily expressed; and discover a variety of learning, and an activity of mind, which are entitled to admiration. It is true that his method is often abrupt and desultory: but it is dullness, or ignorance, alone, which mistakes formality of arrangement, and the imposition of a philosophic

manner, for depth of thought, and novelty of instruction.

The Essay drew forth, in due time, Ruffhead's Life of Pope, a poor jejune performance, written with all the sterility and narrowness of a Special Pleader.

In 1766 Dr. Warton succeeded to the Head-Mastership of Winchester school. In 1772 he lost his first wife. About this time he became a member of the literary club in London. In Dec. 1773, he remarried Miss Nicholas. In 1782, he obtained from Bishop Lowth a prebend of St. Paul's, and the living of Chorley, in Hertfordshire; which last he exchanged for that of Wickham, in Hants.

In this last year, 1782, he gave the world the second volume of his "Essay on Pope," of which the publication had been retarded by motives of a delicate and laudable nature.

In 1786 he suffered a most severe affliction in the loss of his second son, the Rev. Thomas Warton, Fellow of New College, Oxford, a young man of high talents and acquirements; and four years afterwards he lost his beloved brother, with whom he had always enjoyed a mutuality of affections and studies, of a very uncommon kind.

In 1788 he obtained, through the interest of Lord Shannon, a prebend of Winchester cathedral. He soon after obtained the Rectory of Easton, which he exchanged for that of Upham.

Being now at the age of 71, he resigned his school on 23d July 1793, and retired to his Rectory of Wickham, "carrying with him the love, admiration, and esteem of the whole Wykehamical society."

"That ardent mind," says Mr. Wooll, "which had so eminently distinguished the exercise of his public duties, did not desert him in the hours of leisure and retirement; for inactivity was foreign to his nature. His parsonage, his farm, his garden, were cultivated and adorned with the eagerness and taste of undiminished youth; whilst the beauties of the surrounding forest scenery, and the interesting grandeur of the neighbouring shore, were enjoyed by him with an enthusiasm innate in his very being. His lively sallies of playful wit, his rich store of literary anecdote, and the polished and habitual ease, with which he imperceptibly entered into the various ideas and pursuits of men in different situations, and endowed with educations totally opposite, rendered him an acquaintance both profitable and amusing; whilst his unaffected piety and unbounded charity, stamped him a pastor adored by his parishioners. Difficult indeed would it be to decide, whether he shone in a degree less in this social character, than in the closet of criticism, or the chair of instruction."

He did not however sink into literary idleness. In 1797 he edited the works of Pope in 9 vols. 8vq. The notes to this edition, which necessarily include the greatest part of his celebrated Essay, are highly entertaining and instructive. But Dr. Warton was severely, and, it may be added, illiberally, attacked for inserting one or two somewhat indecent pieces in this edition, which had hitherto been excluded from his collected works. The most harsh of these attacks came from the author of the Pursuits of Literature: something, no doubt, must be deducted

from the violence of one, whose professed object was satire; but the grey hairs and past services of Warton ought to have protected him from excessive rudeness; and these over-nice critics might, with a proper regard to consistency, have demanded the exclusion of several other works of Pope. not be concealed, however, that Beattie agreed in some degree with these censurers. "I have just seen," says he, "a new edition by Dr. Joseph War-It is fuller than Warburton, of the works of Pope. ton's; but you will not think it better, when I tell you, that all Pope's obscenities, which Warburton was careful to omit, are carefully preserved by Warton, who also seems to have a great favour for infidel writers, particularly Voltaire. The book is well printed, but has no cuts, except a curious caricature of Pope's person, and an elegant profile of his head."*

Warfon was not however deterred by the blame he thus suffered, from entering upon an edition of Dryden; which alas! he did not live to finish; though he left two volumes ready for the press. This however is the less to be regretted as a similar undertaking is now in the hands of Mr. Walter Scott.

He died 23 Feb. 1800, et. 78, leaving behind him a widow; one son, the Rev. John Warton; and three daughters; of whom only the youngest was by the last wife.

Such are the outlines of Dr. Warton's life; in which I have not confined myself to Mr. Wooll's Memoir, having inserted a few trifling notices from

* Forbes, II. 320.

personal knowledge. I cannot here transcribe at length the delineation of his moral and literary character, with which his biographer concludes the present publication: but in the brief observations I shall make with candour, yet with frankness, my opinion both of that, and of the success with which Mr. Wooll has executed his task, will appear.

Let me own then, that the volume now presented to the world, in some respects, does not quite answer my expectations. The life itself, considering it comes from one, who was a native of Winchester, who was brought up under Dr. Warton, and who seems to have had the advantage of all the family papers, is rather too sparing, not merely of incident, which literary men seldom supply, but of remarks, opinions, anecdotes, habits of study, and pictures of mind. In truth a great deal of what it tells, was known before. It is written with much talent, and elegance; and every where exhibits the scholar and the man of virtuous sentiment. But perhaps the important duties of Mr. Wooll's station have not given him time to fill his mind with all. which probably may be called the idlenesses of modern literature, but which are yet necessary to give a rich and lively interest to the memoirs of a modern author; more especially of one, whose own mind abounded in that kind of knowledge.

In the next place, the correspondence which Warton himself left for publication, and which therefore, as it was well known how long and how widely he had been connected with persons of genius, excited the strongest curiosity, is, for the most part, slight and unimportant. It is true, the letters are, every

one of them, those of emiment people: but scarce any one written with any effort; or upon interesting subjects. What can have become of the letters of the Wartons themselves? Or did they find no time, or no talent for epistolary exertion? For here are, I think, only sixteen of Dr. Warton; and only two of T. Warton. A few of them have nothing to do with either of the Wartons. Two or three of Dr. Johnson are interesting, as they relate to Collins, the poet.

Dr. Johnson to Dr. Warton, March 8, 1754.

***. "How little can we venture to exult in any intellectual powers, or literary attainments, when we consider the condition of poor Collins! I knew him a few years ago, full of hopes and full of projects, versed in many languages, high in fancy, and strong in retention. This busy and forcible mind is now under the government of those who lately would not have been able to comprehend the least and most narrow of its designs. What do you hear of him? Are there hopes of his recovery? Or is he to pass the remainder of his life in misery and degradation? Perhaps with complete consciousness of his calamity!"

Again, Dec. 24, 1754. *** "Poor dear Collins! Let me know, whether you think it would give him pleasure, if I should write to him. I have often been near his state; and therefore have it in great commiseration."

Again, April 15, 1756. *** "What becomes of poor dear Collins? I wrote him a letter, which he

never answered. I suppose writing is very troublesome to him. That man is no common loss. The moralists all talk of the uncertainty of fortune; and the transitoriness of beauty; but it is yet more dreadful to consider, that the powers of the mind are equally liable to change; that understanding may make its appearance, and depart; that it may blaze and expire!"

Collins died in this very year 1756. It is singular that, after Dr. Johnson had written about him with such ardent and eloquent affection, he could at a long subsequent period, when time generally meliorates the love of departed friends, and memory aggrandizes their images, speak of him with such splenetic and degrading criticism in his "Lives of Those lives, especially of his cotemporaries, powerful as they often are, have gone further towards the suppression of rising genius, than any book our language has produced. flatter the prejudices of dull men, and the envy of those who love not literary pursuits; and on this account, in addition to the wonderful force with which they are composed, have obtained a dangerous popularity, which has given a full effect to their poison.

The next best letter, is one, and indeed the only one, by Mrs. Montagu, whose correspondence always thines

velut inter ignes

Luna minores,

in whatever work it appears.

Mrs. Montagu, to Dr. Warton, 17 Sept. 1782.

***. "By opening to us the original and genuine books of the inspired poets, and distinguishing too what is really divine in them, you lead us back to true taste. Critics that demand an ignorant submission, and implicit faith in their infallibility of judgment, or the councils of learned academies, passing decrees as arbitrary, could never establish a rational devotion to the Muses, or mark those boundaries, which are rather guides than restraints. By the candour and impartiality, with which you examine and decide on the merits of the ancients and moderns, we are all informed and instructed: and I will confess I feel myself inexpressibly delighted with the praises you give to the instructor of my early youth, Dr. Young, and the friends of my maturer age, Lord Lyttelton and Mr. West. having ever considered the friendship of these excellent persons as the greatest honour of my life, and endeavouring hourly to set before me their precepts, and their examples, I could not but be highly gratified by seeing you place a guard of laurel round their tombs, which will secure them from any mischievous impressions, envy may attempt to make. I do not love the wolf and the tiger, who assail the living passenger; but most of all beasts I abhor the vampire, who violates the tomb, profanes the sepulchre, and sucks the blood of sleeping men - cowardly, cruel, ungenerous You and your brother are critics of another disposition; too superior to be jealous, too good to be severe, you give encouragement to living authors, protection to the memories of those of former times; and instead of destroying monuments, you bestow them. I have often thought, with delighted gratitude, that many centuries after my little Essay on Shakspeare is lost and forgotten, the mention made of it in the History of English Poetry, the Essay on Pope, and Mr. Harris's Philological Enquiries, will not only preserve it from oblivion, but will present it to opinion with much greater advantages than it originally appeared with. These reflections afford some of the happiest moments to

" Yours, &c. &c.

" ELIZ. MONTAGU."

To the juvenile poetry of Dr. Warton, which is here republished, scarce any thing new is added. Perhaps I may think that Mr. Wooll has rated his powers in this way, if we judge from these remains, a little too high; though there are some striking and appropriate traits in his delineation of them. Yet I must admit that "The Enthusiast, or Lover of Nature," written at the age of 18, is a rich and beautiful descriptive poem; and I will indulge no hyper-criticisms upon it. The Odes it is impossible to avoid comparing with those of his friend and rival, Collins, which were published in the same year, at the same age; and it is equally impossible to be blind to their striking inferiority. The Ode to Fancy has much merit; but it seems to me to want originality; and to be more an effort of memory, than of original and predominant genius. The finest lines, consisting of 28, which begin at

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verse 59, were inserted subsequent to the first edition, a circumstance not noted by Mr. Wooll. The Ode to Content, (not in the first edition) in the same metre as Collins's Ode to Evening, has great merit: but here again we are unfortunately too strongly reminded of its exquisite rival.* Warton has also an Ode to Evening, in which are some good stanzas. "The Dying Indian;" and more particularly "The Revenge of America," are very fine; but the latter is too short for such a subject, and ends too abruptly. On the whole, I cannot honestly subscribe to Mr. Wooll, where he says: "There breathes through his poetry a genuinely spirited invention, a fervor which can alone be produced by an highly-inspired mind; and which, it is to be presumed, fairly ranks him amidst what he himself properly terms, "the makers and inventors;" that is, the "real poets." There seem to be wanting those original and predominant impressions, that peculiarity of character, which always accompany high genius, and which are exhibited in the poetry both of his brother Thomas, and his cotemporary Beattie.

This opinion, if just, will not detract from Dr. Warton's critical talents. The power which feels,

^{*} Dr. Warton, in a note to Milton's Translation of the 5th Ode, Lib. i. of Horace, in his brother's edition of that poet, says: "In this measure, my friend and schoolfellow, Mr. William Collins, wrote his admired Ode to Evening; and I know he had a design of writing many more Odes without rhyme." T. Warton goes on to say, that "Dr. I. Warton might have added, that his own Ode to Evening was written before that of his friend Collins; as was a poem of his, entitled "The Assembly of the Passions;" before Collins's favourite Ode on that subject." Mr. Wooll has inserted a prose sketch on this subject; but no poem.

and the power which originates poetry, are totally distinct. The former no writer seems to have possessed with more exquisite precision, than Dr. Warton; and I do not mean to deny that he possessed the latter in a considerable degree: I only say that his powers of execution do not seem to have been equal to his taste.

But Dr. Warton's fame does not rest upon his poetry. As a critic in polite literature he stands in the foremost ranks. And Mr. Wooll, who being educated under him had the best opportunity of forming a just opinion, has delineated his character as a teacher with the highest and most discriminate His vivacity, his benevolence, and his praise. amiable temper, and moral excellencies have long been known; and are celebrated by his biographer with a fond admiration. But I must say, that Mr. Wooll, in his dread of "descending to the minutiag. of daily habits," has not left us a portrait sufficiently distinct. Nor has he given us any sufficiently bold touches, such as we had a right to expect in the life of one of the Wartons; while, unfortunately, here are scarce any original letters to supply the deficiency. I had hoped to have found materials for an interesting and energetic character; but, what Mr. Wool has omitted, it would be rash for a stranger to attempt.

Mr. Wooll however promises another volume, and though I cannot hope that my suggestions will have any influence with him, yet perhaps some one of more authority may induce him to favour the public with a supplementary account.

July 23, 1806.

ART. CCCXXXVI. Memoirs of the Life of Col. Hutchinson, Governor of Nottingham Castle and Town, Representative of the County of Nottingham in the Long Parliament, and of the Town of Nottingham in the First Parliament of Charles II. &c. With original Anecdotes of many of the most distinguished of his Cotemporaries, and a Summary Review of Public Affairs. Written by his Widow Lucy, daughter of Sir Allen Apsley, Lieutenant of the Tower, &c. Now first published from the Original Manuscript by the Rev. Julius Hutchinson, &c. &c. To which is prefixed the Life of Mrs. Hutchinson, written by Herself, a Fragment. London. Printed for Longman and Co. 1806. 4to. pp. 460.

This is a book of singular interest and indeed importance, of which, though lately published, yet having been written so many years past, the notice in this work will not be out of place. "Surely," observes the Editor, "we risque little in saying that the history of a period the most remarkable in the British annals, written one hundred and fifty years ago by a lady, of elevated birth, of a most comprehensive and highly cultivated mind, herself a witness of many of the scenes she describes, and active in several of them, is a literary curiosity of no mean sort."

It is indeed the most impressive of all the books on that side of the question, which I recollect to have read. The character of a man of inflexible virtue, actuated solely by the purest principles of patriotism, opposing tyranny without a taint of the hatred of greatness; seeking the post of difficulty and danger without a wish for the vanity of rank and honours; a zealous and energetic supporter of his cause; yet frank and discriminative; and free from the virulence, and rant, and prejudices of party, when party raged in its utmost fury, commands such respect and admiration, that we listen to his opinions, and pursue his actions, with feelings of involuntary inclination towards them!

Under the influence of sentiments founded on the experience of a series of various and complicated events which have since occurred, I have hitherto thought that, had I lived in those times, I should have been a fixed and undoubting Royalist. But perhaps the principles of Col. Hutchinson, as enforced by the arguments and eloquence of his heroic, virtuous, and highly-accomplished wife, might then have made me hesitate. No rational man can question that the sentiments and conduct of the Monarch and his Ministry, did actually not only threaten, but intrench upon, the just liberties of Some resistance became necessary: the people. circumstances, in which both parties were perhaps to blame, at length caused the scabbard to be thrown away; and from that moment the purest and wisest patriots might think, and perhaps think rightly, that there was no medium between victory and despotism.

It cannot be denied, that they, who taxed Charles I. with insincerity, had strong appearances on their side. Perhaps it resulted from some of the many amiable traits in his character; from that ductility, and diffidence of his own opinions and resolves,

which made him a dupe to artful, yet less wise, advisers; but whether the origin was amiable or unamiable, the effect was equally to be dreaded. A monarch, against whom his subjects have been once driven to resistance, must go out of the contest with too much, or too little power! Had I therefore engaged in that cause, for which Col. Hutchinson's view of it was at least an honest and a generous justification, I think I should have departed from it, as he seems to have done, a stern Republican!

If it be pleaded, that there were many artifices used to inflame the people, and many leaders engaged, whose views were apparently private and selfish; and that these things, which could not escape the notice of a man of sagacity, and virtue, should in his eyes have damned their cause, it may surely be answered, that in the imperfect condition of human affairs, we are not to refuse to seek a paramount good, because, in its progress, there may be mingled with it some evil instruments. whose motives or actions are impure! For the same reason a strict Loyalist might have deserted the defence of the Crown, because he must have observed that there were many on the same side, who were actuated by ambition, or love of power, or desire to retain emoluments extorted from the oppression of the people! There must indeed have been something in the cant of the Puritans, and other Sectarists, extremely disgusting to a liberal spirit. But on the other hand, what noble and indignant mind could bear the scoffs, and insults, and tyranny, and injuries, and follies of profligate

and abandoned courtiers, the minions of state, raised from obscurity without merit, and fattening in the spoils of the land?

Henry VII. had began systematically to break the power of the Feudal Nobility; and the Constitutional check, which they formed, upon the Crown, was now nearly extinguished. The families of Vere. and Stafford, and Grey, and Hastings, and Clinton, and Stanley, and Percy, and Howard, and others of that stamp, were in poverty or oppression. New lords, sprung from favouritism, or enriched within half a century from the harvest of the Reformation, or just emerged from North of the Tweed, swarmed both in the metropolis, and in every county: Buckingham, and his brothers, and cousins to the fourth degree, shone in a splendour surpassing royalty! But these, as they had lately risen from the hot-bed of the regal prerogative. could neither be any controul upon it, nor have any interests or sentiments in common with the people. Necessity, therefore, operating upon the expansion of mind created by navigation and commerce, raised up a spirit and a power in the people themselves to combat and countervail the growing encroachments of the sceptre. To fan this flame, there was intermingled much false enthusiasm, much horrid hypocrisy, much unjust depreciation of well-acquired rank, and much sophistical and half-witted reasoning on natural equality, and the rights of man. But the collision of the contest struck out also many important truths, and dissipated many artful or servile prejudices which had long enchained or overawed the intellects of the Commonalty.

At a period so critical, the cowardly or the imbecile alone could remain neutral. A man of stern virtue, who abominated the luxuries and dissipations of courts, and had a head fond of busying itself in all the severe ingenuity of abstract politics, was exempt from the force of seductions, which, however amiable, must be admitted to operate by other powers than those of reason. To him the splendour of a palace, the imposing dignity of titles, and all the outward brilliance which surrounds them, put forth their rays ineffectually. Could not such a man, especially if resident in the country, like Col. Hutchinson, as virtuously have embraced the cause of the Parliament as of the King?

The event proved whither the fury of the mob, once roused, will lead: and late events in a neighbouring kingdom have too fatally confirmed it. Indeed every man of sagacity must at all times have been aware, how dangerous it is to appeal to the passions of the populace. But this is no reason for forbearing such appeal in extreme cases: otherwise, what can stop despotism, when it is inclined, as it too often is, to extend its encroachments beyond endurance? There are some evils, of which in the pursuit of a remedy, we must incur the chance of other evils. In common cases patience may be a virtue; but there are points, at which it becomes a contemptible weakness.

Charles I. was a monarch of many attractive accomplishments, and many virtuous qualities, as Mrs. Hutchinson herself confesses. He was a man, undoubtedly, whose speculative talents were of no common order; he drew around him men of genius

and literature, and loved, and understood, and patronized the arts; he possessed therefore, for the most part,* the hearts of those, who could best embalm his memory, and the memory of his cause;

" Quique pii vates, et Phæbo digna locuti, Inventas aut qui vitam excoluere per artes, Quique sui memores alios fecere merendo;"

men, whose cultivated talents, acquainted with the general traits of human nature, and possessed of a command of elegant language, not derived from the narrow and factitious fountain of a temporary and accidental state of opinion, could give to the history of their actions a colour of permanent interest and celebrity. Thus the pages of Clarendon may have operated in favour of the party of his Royal Master, beyond what truth and justice would have exacted of posterity.

Clarendon, it must be allowed, has drawn the characters of most of those who remained faithful and active to the Crown, in hues so glowing and delightful, that it may be doubted whether we are not more influenced by respect for them, than by the examination of their measures, or the reasonings by which they are justified. In truth, at this distance of time, it does raise a strong, and, perhaps, not a very fallible argument in their favour. The virtuous Earl of Newcastle, to whose integrity Mrs. Hutchinson bears testimony, had been out of the atmosphere of the Court; nay, he had been slighted and disobliged by it; yet he broke from his



^{*} I have not forgot the exception of Milton, whose praise of Cromwell is now among the best testimonies in his favour.

beloved ease and the luxury of a princely retirement, and embarked his immense property, and his life, in favour of the monarch; and (not to be tedious) the enlightened, the conscientious, the heroic, the admirable Lord Falkland, engaged on the same side, and sealed his sincerity by his blood. It is true they were men deeply interested in the preservation of aristocratical privileges, which, in the rude dispute that had now commenced, were thrown into jeopardy.

If then personal example be admitted as a powerful guide of opinion on the rectitude of this contest, no book has for years been published, calculated to weigh so strongly in this question as the life of Col. Hutchinson now presented to the public. And for this reason it is extremely essential that the character of the writer should in the first place be established. Indeed she has on many other accounts a full claim to the most conspicuous notice: and more especially in such a work as this, of which it is a prime object to rescue the memory of those who have been emiment for their intellectual attainments, from undeserved oblivion.

The fair and exemplary author appears to have possessed an understanding of uncommon vigour and extent, cultivated with great industry, and adorned not only with all the politest literature of her sex, but with an entire familiarity with classical erudition. To these she added an heroic and virtuous heart, which sometimes exalted her language, always pure and vigorous, into strains of high eloquence! How capricious is that fame, which we are too apt to suppose the constant attendant of eminent virtue, or

great attainments of the mind! The memory of Mrs. Hutchinson has slept for a century and a half, in an obscure MS. the sport of carelessness or stupidity, thrown about in corners of deserted mansions, exposed perhaps, to the rats; to the weather; to the dirty lighters of fires. But it has survived all these chances; and at length, by the pious care of a collateral relation and representative of her husband, comes forth in full splendour. Now it is, that Mrs. Hutchinson starts into life again, as if from the tomb; and lives in the eye of the world with a lustre of fame, which never fell upon her, during her actual existence here! The name of Apsley becomes consecrated among the lovers of genius, and Lord Bathurst may thank the Editor of this precious MS. for at least adding a splendour to one of his titles, beyond what it before possessed!

"My grandfather by the father's side," says Mrs. Hutchinson, "was a gentleman of a competent estate; about 7, or 800l. a year, in Sussex. He being descended of a younger house, had his residence at a place called Pulborough; the family out of which he came, was of Apsley, a town where they had been seated before the Conquest, and ever since continued, till of late the last heir male of that eldest house, being the son of Sir Edward Apsley, is dead without issue, and his estate gone with his sister's daughters into other families," &c.

Her father, Sir Allen Apsley, was knighted by K. James, and afterwards procured the office of Victualler of the Navy, "a place then both of credit and great revenue." His third wife was Lucy

daughter of Sir John St. John of Lydiard-Tregoz in Wiltshire; by whom he had, among other children, this his eldest daughter. Her father was afterwards Lieutenant of the Tower, and died in May 1630, æt. 63, leaving his widow surviving, who died at her daughter's house at Owthorpe, in 1659.

"After my mother had had three sons," continues the memoir-writer, "she was very desirous of a daughter; and when the women at my birth told, her that I was one, she received me with a great deal of joy; and the nurses fancying, because I had more complexion and favour than is usual in so young. children, that I should not live, my mother became fonder of me, and more endeavoured to nurse me. As soon as I was weaned, a French woman was taken to be my dry nurse, and I was taught to speak French and English together. My mother, while she was with child of me, dreamed that she was walking in the garden with my father, and that a star came down into her hand, with other circumstances, which, though I have often heard, I minded not enough to remember perfectly; only my father told her that her dream signified she should have a daughter of some extraordinary eminency: for my father and mother, fancying me then beautiful, and more than ordinarily apprehensive, applied all their cares, and spared no cost to improve me in my education, which procured me the admiration of those that flattered my parents. By that time I was four years old I read English perfectly, and having a great memory, I was carried to sermons, and while I was very young could remember and repeat them exactly, and being caressed, the love of praise

tickled me, and made me attend more heedfully. When I was about 7 years of age, I remember I had at one time 8 tutors in several qualities, languages, music, dancing, writing, and needlework, but my genius was quite averse from all but my book: and that I was so eager of, that my mother, thinking it prejudiced my health, would moderate me in it; yet this rather animated me, than kept me back, and every moment I could steal from my play I would employ in any book I could find, when my own were lockt up from me. After dinner and supper I still had an hour allowed me to play, and then I would steal into some hole or other to read. My father would have me learn Latin, and I was so apt that I outstript my brothers, who were at school, although my father's chaplain who was my tutor was a pitiful dull fellow. My brothers, who had a great deal of wit, had some emulation at the progress I made in my learning, which very well pleased my father, though my mother would have been contented, I had not so wholly addicted myself to that as to neglect my other qualities: as for music and dancing I profited very little in them, and would never practise my lute or harpsichords but when my masters were with me; and for my needle I absolutely hated it; play among other children I despised, and when I was forced to entertain such as came to visit me, I tired them with more grave instruction than their mothers, and pluckt all their babies to pieces, and kept the children in such awe, that they were glad when I entertained myself with elder company, to whom I was very acceptable; and living in the house with many persons that had

a great deal of wit, and very profitable serious discourses being frequent at my father's table, and in my mother's drawing-room, I was very attentive to all, and gathered up things that I would utter again to great admiration of many, that took my memory and imitation for wit. It pleased God that through the good instructions of my mother, and the sermons she carried me to, I was convinced that the knowledge of God was the most excellent study, and accordingly applied myself to it, and to practise as I was taught: I used to exhort my mother's maids much, and to turn their idle discourses to good subjects; but I thought, when I had done this on the Lord's day, and every day performed my due tasks of reading and praying, that then I was free to any thing that was not sin, for I was not at that time convinced of the vanity of conversation which was not scandalously wicked. I thought it no sin to learn or hear witty and amorous sonnets or poems, and twenty things of that kind, wherein I was so apt that I became the confident in all the loves that were managed among my mother's young women, and there was none of them but had many lovers, and some particular friends beloved above the rest."

Mr. Hutchinson having "tried a little the study of the law, but finding it unpleasant and contrary to his genius, and the plague that spring beginning to drive people out of town," retired to the house of his music-master at Richmond, "where the Prince's Court was, and where was very good company and recreations, the King's hawks being kept near the place, and several other conveniencies." Having communicated this to a friend "the gentleman bid

him take head of the place, for it was so fatal for love, that never any young disengaged person went thither, who returned again free."

Mr. Hutchinson found there " a great deal of good young company, and many ingenuous persons, that by reason of the Court, where the young Princes were bred, entertained themselves in that place, and had frequent resort to the house, where Mr. Hutchinson tabled: the man being a skilful composer in music, the rest of the King's musicians often met at his house to practise new airs and prepare them for the King, and divers of the gentlemen and ladies that were affected with music, came thither to hear; others that were not, took that pretence to entertain themselves with the company. Mr. Hutchinson was soon courted into their acquaintance and invited to their houses, where he was nobly treated with all the attractive arts that young women and their parents use to procure them lovers, but though some of them were very handsome, others wealthy, witty, and wellqualified; all of them set out with all the gaiety and bravery, that vain women put on to set themselves off, yet Mr. Hutchinson could not be entangled in any of their fine snares; but without any taint of incivility, in such a way of handsome raillery, reproved their pride and vanity, as made them ashamed of their glory, and vexed that he alone, of all the young gentlemen that belonged to the court or neighbourhood, should be insensible of their charms.

"In the same house with him, there was a younger daughter of Sir Allen Apsley, late Lieutenant of the Tower, tabled for the practice of her lute, till the return of her mother, who was gone into Wiltshire for the accomplishment of a treaty that had been made some progress in, about the marriage of her elder daughter with a gentleman of that country, out of which my lady herself came, and where her brothers, Sir John St. John and Sir Edward Hungerford, living in great honour and reputation, had invited her to a visit of them.

"This gentlewoman, that was left in the house with Mr. Hutchinson was a very child; her elder sister being at that time scarce past it; but a child of such pleasantness and vivacity of spirit, and ingenuity in the quality she practised, that Mr. Hutchinson took pleasure in hearing her practise, and would fall in discourse with her. She, having the keys of her mother's house, some half a mile distant, would sometimes ask Mr. Hutchinson, when she went over, to walk along with her. One day, when he was there, looking upon an odd by-shelf, in her sister's closet, he found a few Latin books. Asking whose they were, he was told they were her elder sister's; whereupon, enquiring more after her, he began first to be sorry she was gone, before he had seen her; and gone upon such an account that he was not likely to see her. Then he grew to love to hear mention of her; and the other gentlewomen, who had been her companions, used to talk much to him, of her, telling him, how reserved and studious she was; and other things, which they esteemed no advantage; but it so inflamed Mr. Hutchinson's desire of seeing her, that he began to wonder at himself, that his heart, which had ever had such an indifferency for the most excellent of womankind, should have so strong impulses towards a stranger,

he never saw; and certainly it was of the Lord, (though he perceived it not) who had ordained him, through so many various providencies, to be yoked with her in whom he found so much satisfaction.

"There scarcely past any day, but some accident er some discourse still kept alive his desire of seeing this gentlewoman, although the mention of her, for the most part, was enquiries whether she had vet accomplished the marriage that was in treaty. One day there was a great deal of company met at Mr. Coleman's, the gentleman's house, where he tabled, to hear the musick, and a certain song was sung, which had been lately set, and gave occasion to some of the company to mention an answer to it, which was in the house, and upon some of their desires read: a gentleman saying it was believed that a woman in the neighbourhood had made it, it was presently enquired who? whereupon a gentleman. then present, who had made the first song, said, there were but two women that could be guilty of it, whereof one was a lady then among them, the other Mrs. Apsley.

"Mr. Hutchinson, fancying something of rationality in the sonnet, beyond the customary reach of a she-wit, although, to speak truth, it signified very little, address thimself to the gentleman, and told him, he could scarcely believe it was a woman's, whereupon this gentleman, who was a man of good understanding and expression, and inspired with some passion for her himself, which made him regard all her perfections through a multiplying glass, told Mr. Hutchinson, that though for civility to the rest, he entitled another lady to the song, yet

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he was confident it was Mrs. Apsley's only, for she had sense above all the rest, and fell into such high praises of her, as might well have begotten those vehement desires of her acquaintance, which a strange sympathy in nature had before produced: another gentleman, that sat by, seconded this commendation, with such additions of praise, as he would not have given if he had known her.

"Mr. Hutchinson hearing all this, said to the first gentleman. I cannot be at rest till this lady's return. that I may be acquainted with her; the gentleman replied, 'Sir, you must not expect that, for she is of an humour she will not be acquainted with any of mankind, and however this song is stolen forth. she is the nicest creature in the world of suffering her perfections to be known, she shuns the converse of men as the plague, she only lives in the enjoyment of herself, and has not the humanity to communicate that happiness to any of our sex.' Well.' said Mr. Hutchinson, 'but I will be acquainted with her;' and indeed the information of this reserved humour, pleased him, more than all else he had heard, and filled him now with thoughts, how he should attain the sight and knowledge of her.

"While he was exercised in this, many days passed not, but a footboy of my lady her mother's, came to young Mrs. Apsley, as they were at dinner, bringing news that her mother and sister would in few days return; and when they enquired of him, whether Mrs. Apsley was married, having before been instructed to make them believe it, he smiled and pulled out some bride laces, which were given at a wedding in the house where she was,

and gave them to the young gentlewoman and the gentleman's daughter of the house, and told them Mrs. Apsley hade him tell no news, but give them those tokens, and carried the matter so, that all the company believed she had been married," &c. ****

"While she so ran in his thoughts, meeting the boy again, he found out upon a little stricter examination of him, that she was not married, and pleased himself in the hopes of her speedy return, when one day, having been invited by one of the ladies of that neighbourhood, to a noble treatment at Sion garden, which a courtier, that was her servant, had made for her, and whom she would bring, Mr. Hutchinson, Mrs. Apsley, and Mr. Coleman's daughter were of the party, and having spent the day in several pleasant divertisements, at evening they were at supper, when a messenger came to tell Mrs. Apsley, her mother was come. She would immediately have gone, but Mr. Hutchinson pretending civility to conduct her home, made her stay till the supper was ended, of which he eat no more, now only longing for that sight, which he had with such perplexity expected. This at length he obtained; but his heart being prepossessed with his own fancy, was not free to discern how little there was in her to answer so great an expectation.

"She was not ugly; in a careless riding-habit, she had a melancholy negligence both of herself and others, as if she neither affected to please others, nor took notice of any thing before her; yet spite of all her indifferency, she was surprised with some unusual liking in her soul, when she saw this gentleman, who had hair, eyes, shape and countenance enough to beget love in any one at the first, and these set off with a graceful and generous mien, which promised an extraordinary person; he was at that time, and indeed always, very neatly habited, for he wore good and rich clothes, and had variety of them, and had them well suited and very answerable, in that little thing, shewing both good judgment and great generosity, he equally becoming them and they him, which he wore with such unaffectedness and such neatness as do not often meet in one.

"Although he had but an evening sight of her he had so long desired, and that at disadvantage enough for her, yet the prevailing sympathy of his soul, made him think all his pains well paid; and this first did whet his desire to a second sight, which he had by accident the next day, and to his joy found she was wholly disengaged from that treaty, which he so much feared had been accomplished; he found withal, that though she was modest, she was accostable and willing to entertain his acquaintance.

"This soon past into a mutual friendship between them, and though she innocently thought nothing of love, yet she was glad to have acquired such a friend, who had wisdom and virtue enough to be trusted with her counsels, for she was then much perplext in mind; her mother and friends had a great desire she should marry, and were displeased that she refused many offers which they thought advantageous enough; she was obedient, loath to displease them, but more herself, in marrying such as she had no inclination to. The troublesome pretensions of whether she could bring her heart to her mother's desire, but being by a secret working, which she then understood not, averted, she was troubled to return, lest some might believe it was a secret liking of them which had caused her dislike of others, and being a little disturbed with these things and melancholy, Mr. Hutchinson, appearing, as he was, a person of virtue and honour, who might be safely and advantageously conversed with, she thought God had sent her a happy relief.

"Mr. Hutchinson on the other side, having been told, and seeing how she shunned all other men, and how civilly she entertained him, believed that a secret power had wrought a mutual inclination between them, and daily frequented her mother's house, and had the opportunity of conversing with her in those pleasant walks, which, at that sweet season of the Spring invited all the neighbouring inhabitants to seek their joys: where, though they were never alone, yet they had every day opportunity for converse with each other, which the rest shared not in, while every one minded their own delights.

"They had not six weeks enjoyed this peace, but the young men and women, who saw them allow each other that kindness which they did not afford commonly to others, first began to grow jealous and envious at it, and after to use all the malicious practices they could invent to break the friendship. Among the rest, that gentleman, who at the first had so highly commended her to Mr. Hutchinson, now began to caution him against her, and to dispusage her, with such subtile insinuations,

as would have ruined any love, less constant and honourable than his. The women, with witty spite, represented all her faults to him, which chiefly terminated in the negligence of her dress and habit, and all womanish ornaments, giving herself wholly up to study and writing. Mr. Hutchinson, who had a very sharp and pleasant wit, retorted all their malice with such just reproofs of their idleness and vanity, as made them hate her, who, without affecting it, had so engaged such a person in her protection, as they with all their arts could not catch. He in the meanwhile prosecuted his love, with so much discretion, duty, and honour, that at the length, through many difficulties he accomplished his design.

"I shall pass by all the little amorous relations. which if I would take the pains to relate, would make a true historoy of more handsome management of love than the best romances describe: for these are to be forgotten as the vanities of youth, not worthy mention among the greater transactions There is this only to be recorded, that never was there a passion more ardent and less idolatrous; he loved her better than his life, with inexpressible tenderness and kindness, had a most high obliging esteem of her, yet still considered honour, religion, and duty, above her, nor ever suffered the intrusion of such a dotage as should blind him from marking her imperfections: these he looked on with such an indulgent eye, as did not abate his love and esteem of her, while it augmented his care to blot out all those spots which might make her appear less worthy of that respect

he paid her; and thus indeed he soon made her more equal to him than he found her, for she was a very faithful mirror, reflecting truly, though but dimly, his own glories upon him, so long as he was present; but she, that was nothing before his inspection gave her a fair figure, when he was removed, was only filled with a dark mist, and never could again take in any delightful object, nor return any shining representation.

"The greatest excellency she had was the power of apprehending and the virtue of loving his: so as his shadow, she waited on him every where, till he was taken into that region of light, which admits of more, and then she vanisht into nothing. It was not her face he loved, her honour and her virtue were his mistresses, and these (like Pigmalion's) images of his own making, for he polisht and gave form to what he found with all the roughness of the quarry about; but meeting with a compliant subject for his own wise government, he found as much satisfaction as he gave, and never had occasion to number his marriage among his infelicities.

"That day that the friends on both sides met to conclude the marriage, she fell sick of the small-pox, which was many ways a severe trial upon him; first, her life was almost in desperate hazard, and then the disease, for the present, made her the most deformed person that could be seen, for a great while after she recovered; yet he was nothing troubled at it, but married her as soon as she was able to quit the chamber, when the priest and all that saw her were affrighted to look on her: but God recompenced his justice and constancy, by restoring

her, though she was longer than ordinary before she recovered as well as before.

"One thing is very observable, and worthy imitation in him; although he had as strong and violent affections for her, as ever any man had, yet he declared it not to her till he had first acquainted his father, and after never would make any engagement but what his love and honour bound him in, wherein he was more firm and just than all the promissory oaths and ties in the world could have made him, notwithstanding many powerful temptations of wealth and beauty, and other interests, that were laid before him; for his father had concluded another treaty, before he knew his son's inclinations were this way fixt, with a party in many things much more advantageable for his family, and more worthy of his liking: but his father was no less honourably indulgent to his son's affection, than the son was strict in the observance of his duty, and at length to the full content of all, the thing was accomplished, and on the third day of July, in the year 1638, he was married to Mrs. Lucy Apsley. the second daughter of Sir Allen Apsley, late Lieutenant of the Tower of London, at St. Andrew's. Church in Holborn."

Colonel John Hutchinson was eldest son of Sir Thomas Hutchinson of Owthorpe in Northampton-shire, Kt. by Margaret daughter of Sir John Byron, of Newstead in the same county, and was born at Nottingham in 1616. He was educated at Nottingham school, and thence removed to the free school at Lincoln. Here, when not occupied in his studies, he was exercised in all military postures,

assaults, and defences, by an old low-country soldier, who was employed to instruct the scholars in this way. Hence he was removed back to the free school at Nottingham, and on quitting it sent a Fellow Commoner to Peter-House, Cambridge, where he attained much credit for his learning, and took a degree with considerable reputation.

After five years stay at the University, being then twenty years old, he returned to his father's house. who had now settled his habitation at Nottingham: but a new brood of children, by a second marriage, having sprung up in the house, which made his abode there not entirely agreeable, he obtained leave to go to London, where he was admitted of Lincoln's Inn. Here however he did not find society congenial to his taste, and thinking the study of the law unpleasant and contrary to his genius, and the plague, which broke out this spring, beginning to drive people out of the town, he retired to Richmond. At this place, he met his future wife and biographer, Lucy Apsley, as has been already mentioned.

In the two years, which followed, in the bosom of domestic privacy he took the greatest delight in the study of divinity. "It was a remarkable providence of God in his life," says his wife, "that must not be passed over without special notice, that he gave him these two years leisure, and a heart so to employ it, before the noise of war and tumult came upon him: yet about the year 1639 the thunder was heard afar off raitling in the troubled air, and even the most obscured woods were penetrated

with some flashes, the forerunners of the dreadful storm, which the next year was more apparent."

He now being anxious to increase his income, was on the point of concluding a bargain, for the purchase of a place in the court of Star-chamber, which an accident put aside, and which Mrs. H. considers a providential interference. In October, 1641. therefore, he retired to the family house at Owthorpe. Here "he applied himself to understand the things then in dispute, and read all the public papers that came forth, between the King and Parliament, besides many other private treatises, both concerning the present and foregoing times. Hereby he became abundantly informed in his understanding. and convinced in conscience of the righteousness of the Parliament's cause, in point of civil right, and though he was satisfied of the endeavours to restore Poperv, and subvert the true Protestant religion, which indeed was apparent to every one that impartially considered it, yet he did not consider that so clear a ground for the war, as the defence of the just English liberties; and although he was clearly swayed by his own judgment and reason to the Parliament, he thinking he had no warrantable call at that time to do any thing more, contented himself with praying for peace."

He was now by the influence of Henry Ireton, his relation, put by the Parliament into the Commission of the peace, and soon after presented a petition of the yeomanry and others of that stamp belonging to his own county to the King at York, requesting him to return to the Parliament, a circumstance,

that gave much uneasiness to his loyal relations the Byrons. He was hence embarked in this cause, and other events immediately followed, which confirmed him in it.

Mrs. H. records that almost the whole county of Nottingham were for the King. "The greatest family," she says, "was the Earl of Newcastle's, * a lord so much beloved in his country, that when the first expedition was against the Scots, the gentlemen of the country set him forth two troops, one all of gentlemen, the other of their men, who waited on him into the north at their own charges. He had, indeed, through his great estate, his liberal hospitality, and constant residence in his country so endeared them to him, that no man was a greater prince than he in all that northern quarter, till a foolish ambition of glorious slavery carried him to court, where he ran himself much in debt to purchase neglects of the King and Queen, and scorns of the proud courtiers."+

Mr. Hutchinson was not willing to quit his house, to which he had so lately come, if he could have been suffered to live quietly in it; but his affections to the Parliament being taken notice of, he became an object of envy to the other party. Nottingham now took up the sword, and it was not safe to lay it down again. Upon the Parliament's commission



^{*} William Cavendish, afterwards Marquis and Duke of Newcastle, who was seated at Welbeck Abbey, and whose landed rental in those days amounted to 22,000l. a year and upwards.

[†] The strong coincidence of this portrait, with that given by Lord Clarendon, though written by one of the opposite party, is a clear presumption of the reliance that is to be put upon both.

therefore for settling the militia, Mr. Hutchinson was chosen Lieut. Col. of Col. Pierrepoint's Regiment of Foot. He now resolved, if possible, to preserve the town of Nottingham to the Parliament: an important service, it being a considerable pass into the north, which, if the enemy had first possessed themselves of, the Parliament had been cut off from all intercourse between the north and south, especially in the winter time, when the river Trent is not fordable, and only to be passed over by the bridges of Nottingham and Newark, and up higher at Wilden Ferry, where the enemy also had a garrison. He well knew the difficulty of what he undertook, and considered himself as the forlors hope of those, who were engaged in it; but his invincible courage and passionate zeal for a cause, which he believed to be just, impelled him to persevere.

On the 29th of June, 1643, the castle of Nottingham was committed to Colonel Hutchinson's care. This fortress was ill fortified and ill provided, all which he set himself as soon as possible to repair. Soon afterwards his father died, and did him much injustice by his will, but this he bore with his accustomed fortitude of mind, and did not suffer it to abate his energy in the cause which he had embraced. Attempts were made to shake his fidelity through the medium of his cousin Sir Richard Byron; he replied, "that except he found his own heart prone to such treachery, he might consider, there was, if nothing else, so much of a Byron's blood in him, that he should very much scorn to betray or quit a trust he had undertaken; but the

grounds he went on were such, that he very much despised such a thought, as to sell his faith for base rewards or fears, and therefore could not consider the loss of his estate, which his wife was as willing to part with, as himself, in this cause, wherein he was resolved to persist in the same place, in which it had pleased God to call him to the defence of it."

From hence Colonel H. continued the defence of his castle with much ability and courage, not only against the enemy but against many internal intrigues, till 1647, when the war being ended he thought the command no longer worthy himself or his brother, and gave it over to his kinsman Captain Poulton. He then removed his family back to his own house at Owthorpe, but found, as it had stood uninhabited and been robbed of every thing which the neighbouring garrisons of Shelford and Wiverton could carry from it, it was so ruinated that it could not be repaired to make a convenient babitation, without as much charge as would almost build another. But he made a bad shift with it for that year.

Not long afterwards followed the trial of the unhappy monarch. "After the purgation of the House," says his biographer, "upon new debate of the Treaty of the Isle of Wight, it was concluded dangerous to the realm, and destructive to the better interest, and the trial of the King was determined. He was sent for to Westminster, and a commission given forth to a court of high justice, whereof Bradshaw, Serjeant at Law, was President; and divers honourable persons of the Parliament, city,

and army, nominated commissioners. Among them Colonel Hutchinson was one, who very much against his own will, was put in; but looking upon himself as called hereunto, durst not refuse it, as holding himself obliged by the covenant of God, and the public trust of his country reposed in him, although he was not ignorant of the danger he run, as the condition of things then was."

As he voted for the death of the King, Mrs. H. justifies it in the following words: "As for Mr. Hutchinson, although he was very much confirmed in his judgment concerning the cause, yet here being called to an extraordinary action, whereof many were of several minds, he addressed himself to God, by prayer, desiring the Lord that if through any human frailty he were led into any error or false opinion, in these great transactions, he would open his eyes and not suffer him to proceed, but that he would confirm his spirit in the truth, and lead him by right enlightened conscience; and finding no check, but a confirmation in his conscience. that it was his duty to act as he did, he upon serious debate, both privately and in addresses to God, and in conferences with conscientious upright unbiassed persons, proceeded to sign the sentence against the King. Although he did not then believe, but it might one day come to be again disputed among men; yet both he and others thought, they could not refuse it without giving up the people of God, whom they had led forth, and engaged themselves unto by the oath of God, into the hands of God's and their enemies; and therefore he cast himself upon God's protection, acting according to

the dictates of a conscience, which he had sought the Lord to guide, and, accordingly the Lord did signalize his favours to him."

He soon saw through Cromwell's designs of private ambition, and was treated by him accordingly. He still however attended his duty in Parliament. "The only recreation he had during his residence at London was in seeking out all the rare artists he could hear of, and in considering their works in paintings, sculptures, gravings, and all other such curiosities, insomuch that he became a great virtuoso and patron of ingenuity. Being loath that the land should be disfurnished of all the rarities that were in it, whereof many were set to sale in the King's and divers noblemen's collections, he laid out about two thousand pounds in the choicest pieces of painting, most of which were bought out of the King's goods, which were given to his servants to pay their wages: to them the Colonel gave ready money, and bought so good pennyworths, that they were valued much more worth than they cost. These he brought down into the country, intending a very neat cabinet for them; and these, with the surveying of his buildings, and improving by enclosure the place he lived in, employed him at home, and, for a little time, hawks abroad; but when a very sober fellow, that never was guilty of the usual vices of that generation of men, rage and swearing, died, he gave over his hawks, and pleased himself with music, and again fell to the practice of his viol, on which he played excellently well; and entertaining tutors for the diversion and education of his children in all sorts of music, he pleased

himself in these innocent recreations during Oliver's mutable reign. As he had great delight, so he had great judgment, in music, and advanced his children's practice more than their tutors: he also was a great supervisor of their learning, and indeed himself a tutor to them all, besides all those tutors which he liberally entertained in his house for them. He spared not any cost for the education of both his sons and daughters in languages, sciences, music, dancing, and all other qualities befitting their He was himself their instructor in father's house. humility, sobriety, and all godliness and virtue, which he rather strove to make them exercise with love and delight, than by constraint. As other things were his delight, this only he made his business, to attend the education of his children, and the government of his own house and town. he performed so well that never was any man more feared and loved than he, by all his domestics, tenants, and hired workmen. He was loved with such a fear and reverence, as restrained all rude familiarity and insolent presumptions in those who were under him, and he was feared with so much love, that they all delighted to do his pleaaure."

"As for the public business of the country, he could not act in any office under the Protector's power, and therefore confined himself to his own, which the whole country about him were grieved at, and would rather come to him for council as a private neighbour, than to any of the men in power for greater help."

" In the interim Cromwell and his army grew

wanton with their power, and invented a thousand tricks of Government, which, when nobody opposed, they themselves fell to dislike and vary every day."

Mrs. Hutchinson observes of Richard Cromwell, that "he was so flexible to good councils, that there was nothing desirable in a Prince, which might not have been hoped in him, but a great spirit and a just title, the first of which sometimes doth more hurt than good in a Sovereign, the latter would have been supplied by the people's deserved approbation."

During the events that immediately preceded the Restoration, "the Colonel was by many of his friends attempted every way to fall in with the King's interest, and often offered both pardon and preferment, if he could be wrought off from his party, whose danger was now laid before him; but they could no way move him."

He was chosen in the new parliament to represent the town of Nottingham, and on the twentyfifth of April, 1660, went up to attend his duty there. On the 29th of May Charles the Second again entered London. They, who had acted a principal part in the late times, and who now sat in the house, were expected to make some recantation When it came to Colonel H.'s of their conduct. turn, he said, "that for his acting in those days, if he had erred, it was the inexperience of his age, and the defect of his judgment, and not the malice of his heart, which had ever prompted him to pursue the general advantage of his country more than his own, and if the sacrifice of him could induce to the public peace and settlement, he should freely

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submit his life and fortunes to their dispose; that the vain expense of his age, and the great debts his public employments had run him inte, as they were testimonies that neither avarice nor any other interest had carried him on, so they yielded him just cause to repent, that he ever forsook his own blessed quiet to embark in such a troubled sea, where he made shipwreck of all things, but a good conscience, and, as to that particular action of the King, he desired them to believe, that he had that sense of it, that befitted an Englishman, a Christian, and a gentleman."

The result of the house that day was to suspend Colonel Hutchinson and the rest from sitting in the house. But he was not one of the seven, who were excepted from mercy.

Yet afterwards although he was "cleared both for life and estate in the House of Commons, not answering the court expectations in public recantations, and dissembled repentance, and applause of their cruelty to his fellows, the Chancellor was cruelly exasperated against him, and there were very high endeavours to have razed him out of the act of oblivion; but Sir Allen Apsley's interest, and most fervent endeavours for him turned the scales in his favour."

He now retired into the country, but, while he saw his old compatriots suffering, he was ill satisfied with himself for accepting mercy.

He continued retired, all that winter, and the next summer; but it seems that his enemies continued to cherish their malice against him, and only watched for an opportunity to shew it. In autumn 1663 he had relieved with money one Palmer, a non-conforming minister, then in Nottingham jail, and on the 11th of October that year, a body of soldiers came to his house at Owthorpe, and conducted him a prisoner to Newark; and here he continued, no man coming to him, or letting him know why he was brought there. On the 19th of October he was carried by a party of horse to the Marquis of Newcastle's, who treated him very honourably, and dismissed him without a guard to his own house. On the 22d of October another party of horse came, and carried him back to Newark, from whence he was soon removed to London, where he was confined in the Tower, being committed by a warrant of Secretary Bennet for treasonable practices. On November the sixth he was carried to Whitehall and examined by Bennet himself; whose questions to him were answered in such a way, as to leave no impression of guilt. Soon after he was examined a second time with the hope of entrapping him, but with no effect. It seems the suspicion was founded on the idea of a northern plot: when Sir Allen Apsley appealed to the Chancellor, his answer was " your brother is the most unchanged person of his party."

An order at length came to remove him to Sandown castle, on the sea side, close to Deal in Kent. "When he came to the castle, he found it a lamentable old ruined place, almost a mile distant from the town, the rooms all out of repair, not weather free, no kind of accommodation either for lodging or diet, or any conveniency of life."

There being no room for his wife or family, Mrs.

H. and her daughter were obliged to take lodgings Yet the colonel did not lose his chear-He entertained himself with sorting and firlness. shadowing cockle shells; but his business and continual study was the scripture. As it drew towards the close of the year, Mrs. H. was obliged to go to Owthorpe to fetch her children and other supplies to her husband. His daughter and brother staid at Deal, and coming to him every day, walked out with him to the sea-side, a liberty with which he was now indulged. When his wife went away, he was well and chearful, and confident of seeing Owthorpe again. On the third of September, after walking by the sea-side, he came home aguish, and went to bed. The disorder, with some variations, increased, and on the fourth day he rose to sleep no more until his last sleep came upon him, continuing the whole time in a feverish distemper. The day on which he died was the 11th of September. His body was conveyed to Owthorpe for He died in the forty-ninth year of his age. burial.

ART. CCCXXXVII. History of the ancient Earls of Warren and Surry, and their descendants to the present time. By the Rev. John Watson, M.A.F.A.S. and Rector of Stockport in Cheshire.

His name shall live from generation to generation. Ecclus. xxxix. 9.

Warrington, printed by William Eyres, 1776, 4to. pp. 437.

This was the original edition of Dr. Watson's History mentioned in the next article, of which only

six copies were printed, probably for the purpose of circulating them for corrections and additions. One copy, formerly Mr. Astle's, is in the library of the Royal Institution, with the MS. notes of the compiler.

ART. CCCXXXVIII. Memoirs of the ancient Earls of Warren and Surrey, and their descendants to the present time. By the Rev. John Watson, M.A.F.A.S. Late Fellow of Brazen Nose College in Oxford, and Rector of Stockport in Cheshire.

———Genus immortale manet, multosque per aunos Stat fortuna domus, et avi numerantur avorum.

Virg. Georg. Lib. iv.

In two Volumes, 4to. Warrington, Printed by William Eyres, 1782.

PREFIXED to this work is a portrait of the Compiler, Dr. Watson, engraved by Basire, 1780. This author also wrote the History and Antiquities of Halifax. Gilbert Wakefield, who married his niece, says, * " he was a very lively, conversible, well-informed man; and one of the hardest students I ever knew. His great excellence was a knowledge of antiquities, and several papers on these subjects are preserved in the Archaiologia of the Antiquarian Society, of which he was a member. He was by no means destitute of poetical fancy; had written some good songs, and was possessed of a most copious collection of bon-mots, facetious stories, and humorous compositions of every kind, both in verse

Memoirs of himself, p 153.

and prose, written out with uncommon accuracy and neatness."

The object of the present work was to prove the late Sir George Warren, K. B. of Pointon, in Cheshire, entitled to the ancient Earldom of Surry.

It is agreed on all sides that the Warrens of Poynton are in some way descended from the ancient Earls of that name; but genealogists have differed in the mode. Dugdale, following Vincent, has asserted that they are derived from a bastard of the last Earl, by Maud de Nereford his concubine. On the contrary, Flower and Glover in 1580, having industriously examined the evidences of John Warren, then of Pointon, Esq. have deduced them in the legitimate line from a more remote ancestor, Reginald, younger brother of William, third Earl of Warren and Surry. A critical attention to all that Dr. Watson, with the aid of these authorities, has been able to urge in favour of the latter mode. induces me to confess that he leaves the matter in very great doubt.

The writer of this article is willing to pay due respect to the authority of Robert Glover; but his experience has induced him never to rely on the unsupported dicta even of this learned genealogist, in points of descent removed so far from his own time. He considers the signature of an eminent Herald, in the exercise of his official capacity, to be strong (not conclusive) evidence of those parts of a pedigree, which have occurred in his own time, and perhaps for two or three generations above; though many of the records of the Meralds' College compiled during the existence of Visitations, may

be proved by abundant and irrefragible evidence to be not only unaccountably omissive, but not unfrequently positively erroneous. But in the earlier parts of these pedigrees, they are often so bare, so palpably false, and full of such ridiculous blunders, as almost to exceed the belief of any man not very convergant with them. Glover seems to have been the first who set the example of examining the record effices at the Tower, at Westminster and the Rolls; but all his MSS. prove that these researches were yet in their infancy; and that he was overwhelmed with the multiplicity of materials, that were thus opened to his enquiries. He could not upon every occasion abandon the use and the authority of these meagre pedigrees, by which his predecessors had been guided. They who are in the habit of bowing to a name, without examining the basis on which it stands, will stare at this assertion; but the writer has not made it without repeated proofs of its truth.

To proceed then to the case before us. The charters in the register of Lewes Priory, demonstrate that the 3d Earl Warren had a brother Reginald, and that the last had a son William de Warren; and hence it seems that for two generations we stand upon the mere dicta of these heralds, which, as they profess to have made out this genealogy upon public and private evidences, yet cite neither records nor deeds, I consider to be so slight, as to be nothing more than a guess. The son of William de Warren is said here to have been Sir John de Warren, Kt. who married Alice, daughter of Roger de Townsend of Norfolk, (a marriage not found in the Townshend

pedigree) and to have had John de Warren, who by Joan daughter of Sir Hugh de Port.* of Etwall, Kt. had Sir Edward de Warren, Kt.

This is the point at which the principal dispute Flower and Glover say that Sir Edward de Warren, Knt. married "Matild. de Nerford, dn'a de Skegton, and Boton, 20 Ed. Il." daughter of Richard de Skegton, and sister and coheir (with Alice Hauteyn) of Sir Ralph de Skegton, Kt. Now. here at least occurs an unlucky confusion of names; for Dugdale cites unquestionable records to prove, that John the last Earl of Warren was divorced from Joan his wife, upon pretence of a former contract made by him with Maud de Nereford, a person of a great family in Norfolk; and that he had two sons by the said Maud de Nereford, John and Thomas, who were surnamed Warren." This John, he adds, bore for his arms, checky or, and azure, a canton gules with a lion rampant ermine thereon, the proper coat of Nereford; but it must be recollected that this last merely stands on the dictum of Vincent.

"This tends to shew," says Dr. Watson, "that there were two Maud de Nerefords,"—and in truth some of the arguments, which he uses, go some way in establishing this opinion; for it is clear that the Earl of Surry made an entail of Coningsburgh, Sandal, and many large estates on the issue male of his sons by Maud de Nereford; and if the fact be, as Dr. W. asserts, that those estates reverted to the Crown, on the Earl's death, (which by the bye was only the next year) then the inference can

^{*} Qu. whether the Ports were settled so early at Etwall?

scarcely be disputed, that these bastards must then have been dead without sons, and therefore could not be ancestors of the Warrens of Poynton. On the other hand, Dr. W. gives extracts from records to prove that the 2d Sir Edward Warren held lands, 20 Edward III. (the very year before Earl Warren died), in Skegton and Boton, which were formerly the lands of John de Skegton; and moreover that he inherited these lands from his father, which certainly seem strong evidence that Maud de Nereford, who was heiress of Skegton, left not only issue, but legitimate issue; and the words "descendebat post mortem domini Edwardi patris nostri" might have arisen from the father's surviving his wife, and having held the estates as life-tenant.

Vincent seems to place strong reliance on the distinction used in the arms of the Warrens of Poynton, a canton, with the coat of Nereford. But Dr. W. argues that it was not the coat of Nereford, but of Moubray, which differs from the former only in having the lion silver, instead of ermine.

Sir Edward Warren the younger, of Boton in Norfolk aforesaid, married Cicely daughter and heiress of Sir Nicholas de Eton, Kt. by Joan his wife the heiress of the Barony of Stockport in Cheshire, to which estate his son Sir John de Warren succeeded 44 Ed. III. and from him the descent of the late Sir George Warren, who died possessed of that inheritance, is beyond all question.

It is far from my intention to encumber this work with genealogical discussions: they are not the taste of the day; nor do I wonder at it; they recal reflections too painful; they remind us too acutely of

the strange inversions which society has so rapidly undergone within these very few years; of the quick decay of families; of the uncertainty of wealth; and the little advantage of birth and station; of the prosperity of contractors and adventurers; and of the daring insolence of the halfbred and mongrel great, who are still more anxious to suppress and extinguish the genuine stocks of ancient nobility and gentry, than to insult and despise the newest upstarts from India or the Stock Exchange. It is not necessary to point out more particularly the kind of people to whom I allude: but I may add, that I mean those whose names were never heard of in history, or in important offices for more than two or three generations; who having been suddenly drawn, by an accidental alliance or unexpected fortune, from some obscure manor-house, beyond the circuit of which their celebrity had never before travelled, have by a nerseverance in intrigue and servility and interested connections, accumulated a fearful preponderance in estates and places and titles; or those, who having obtained through the medium of some of our dependencies, local rank and consequence, have fastened themselves to some good name of the mother-country, and obtruding with officious want of feeling among its aristocracy, have been inebriated by the fumes of the undeserved prosperity, which they have acquired by their assumption, and manæuvres.

I stated in a former part of this article, that whatever was the real line in which Sir George Warren descended from the Earls of Surry, the mode of his de-

scent from the time of Edward III, when his ancestor Sir Edward De Warren married the heiress of the barony of Stockport, could admit of no question. His son Sir John married Margaret daughter of Sir John Stafford of Wickham, and died 10 Ric. II. leaving Nicolas, who dying about 1413, left by Agnes daughter of Sir Richard de Winnington, Sir Laurence de Warren, who married Margery daughter of Hugh Bulkeley, and died 1444, leaving John de Warren, who married Isabel daughter of Sir John Stanley of Lathom, K. G. and dwing 23 Hen. VII. had Sir Laurence, who died V. P. and left two sons, of whom William the younger was ancestor of the present Admiral Sir John Borlace Warren, Bart. and K. B. and Sir John the elder married Eleanor daughter of Sir Thomas Gerard of Bryn, and dying 1518, left Laurence de Warren. who married Margaret daughter of Sir Piers-Legh of Lyme, and had Sir Edward Warren, who rebuilt the mansion in Poynton Park, and married Dorothy daughter of Sir William Booth of Dunham-Massey: he died 12 Oct. 1558, and was father of John Warren, whose wife was Margaret daughter of Sir Richard Molineux of Sefton, and whose death happened 7 Dec. 30 Eliz. A portrait of him, æt. 40. 1580, is inserted in this History. His son and heir Sir Edward Warren, married Ann daughter of Sir William Davenport of Bramall, and died 13 Nov. This Knight's portrait is also here inserted -both engraved by Basire. His son, John Warren, died 20 June 1621, leaving by Anne, daughter of George Ognell of Bilsley in Warwickshire, Edward his son and heir, commonly called Stag Warren, on

account of his great size and strength, who died 1687, leaving by Margaret daughter of Henry Arderne of Harden near Stockport, John Warren, born 1630, who was one of the Judges of Chester, Flint, Denbigh, and Montgomery, 1681, and dying 20 March 1705-6, left by Anne daughter and heiress of Hugh Cooper of Chorley, Warren, born 1659, who married Dorothy daughter and heir of John Talbot of Dinkley, by whom he had Edward Warren, Esq. who married 1731 Lady Elizabeth, daughter of George Earl of Cholmondeley, and dying 7 Sept. 1737, was father of the late Sir George Warren, who was made K. B. 26 May 1761, and died within these few years, leaving by his first wife Jane daughter and heiress of Thomas Revel, Esq. of Mitcham in Surry, an only daughter and heir, married to the present Viscount Bulkeley, who has no issue.

Thus ends the principal branch of the truly ancient family of Warren of Poynton, while the collateral branch dignified by the heroic actions of Sir John Borlace Warren seems to promise little more stability; his only son having fallen gloriously at the landing in Egypt, in 1801.

How vain therefore were Sir George Warren's anxieties for the revival of the ancient honours of his family, which would have been already extinguished! Vain, even if successful, would have been the ingenuity and earnestness with which Dr. Watson pleaded the cause of his friend and patron, when, towards the close of his work, he wrote the following passages, among others.

"Why, at the decease of the last earl John, with-

out lawful issue, did none of the family lav claim to this title, if it really belonged to them? To this I answer, that they might have a reason for not doing it then, which reason may have no existence now. Their finances, as the estates were left from them, might not be thought adequate to the necessary expences of so elevated a station; and therefore they might either not attempt it, or might meet with discouragement from the crown on that very account. The kings of England, while the subjects held their estates by military tenure, found it was not their interest to permit men of small property to succeed to such great titles, when no lands belonged to them. In reality they did not partake of the nature, nor answer the end of an English barony, which was to supply the king with assistance against the enemies of the realm: for the earldom of Warren not having an inch of land annexed to it, and consequently not being obliged in any case to bring a single soldier into the field, could only be made use of for mere aggrandizement; which, whatever it may be now, was then a very impolitic reason on the part of the state to admit, where it could be avoided: neither was this very difficult to manage, when the crown had so much power. Whatever notions we may at this day entertain of British liberty, it was not an easy thing in the reign of King Edward III. for a private man, let his pretensions have been ever so just, to have prosecuted an affair of this sort against his sovereign's inclination; they were most favoured who could muster the strongest phalanx.

" But let all this be as it would, their want of

claiming this title, does not exclude their right to it: nor would their being denied it on proper application, take away their just pretensions to it; for with regard to the first, there are plenty of instances where titles have lain dormant for generations, or remained in abeyance, as hereditates jacentes, in expectation that the next in blood would sometime sue for the same, and have at last been recovered; and with respect to the second, it is well known that one prince has granted what another has refused. No perpetual bar therefore either ought or can be put to applications of this Titles should not be extinguished without very substantial reasons, but no substantial reason can be given, why that of the earl of Warren should undergo this fate, so long as there has neither been forfeiture nor want of blood.

"And though an infringement was made upon the family right by conferring the title in question on such who had no pretensions to it in the reigns of Hen. VI. and Edw. IV., yet those kings were excusable in what they did, because as the family of Warren had neglected to claim it, they could not be supposed to know any thing about it. Those acts however cannot prejudice the present claimant, for whether the grants were made in tail male or tail general, the remainders are spent. When a man's property is put into a wrong hand, he loses but the possession of it, not his right to it; * and

^{* &}quot;This is evident from the case of Lord Willoughby of Parham; for Sir William Willoughby, Kt. being by letters patent, dated 16 Feb. 1 Edw. VI. created Lord Willoughby of Parham, to hold to him and the heirs male of his body, he was succeeded

though in the case of titles, it would be impolitic to divest a person thereof when once allowed to

in that title by Charles his son, who had five sons; viz. William, Sir Ambrose, Sir Thomas, Edward, and Charles; the three first of whom only left issue male, which failed in the line of William in 1679, on the decease of Charles Lord Willoughby, who ought to have been succeeded in that honour by Henry, grandson of the above Sir Ambrose, but he settled in Virginia, and died there in 1685, ignorant of the failure of issue male in the elder branch of the family; and not appearing to assert his claim, Themas, son of Sir Themas Willoughby above-named, was summoned to Parliament by the title aforesaid, on a presumption that Sir Ambrose and his two brothers Edward and Charles were all dead without issue male; and the descendants of the said Thomas enjoyed the honour till the death of Hugh Lord Willoughby of Patham, who died unmarried in Jan. 1765, at whose decease, Col. Henry Willoughby claimed this title, as the direct descendant of the above Sir Ambrose, and obtained it."-Watson.

I take this opportunity of adding to this note the following from Cole's MSS. in Brit. Mus. Vol. XVIII. p. 155. "Hugh Lord Willoughby of Parham died at his house in Craven Street in the Strand in Jan. 1765. He was a very ingenious man, but so bigoted a Presbyterian, that I heard Mr. Coventry of Magdalen College in Cambridge, the author of Philemon to Hydaspes, who was well acquainted with him, say, that his conscience was so nice, that he could not bring himself to receive the sacrament in the church of England on his knees without scruples, and thought it idolatry. He had a very small estate, and when it came to him with the title, he was in a very humble capacity in the army. I think he left several valuable curiosities to the Antiquarian Society, and died at the age of fifty-five years."

On the death of Col. Henry Willoughby, his successor, the title went to his nephew George, on whose death in 1779 it became extinct, so that this unfortunate branch had scarce attained their right before they expired.—In the General Evening Post, 18 Nov. 1779, there was inserted the following character of the last peer: "The late lord Willoughby of Parham was born about the year 1748-9, was educated at Warrington academy in Lancashire, and removed from thence to Queen's College, Cambridge, where he

him, yet when the limitations are over, as in the instances before us, the claim is again laid open as full and free as it was before. There are even these advantages attending what has been done, that when the Crown conferred the title of the earl of Warren, it was looked upon as something fit to be continued, and being by creation, it evidently proved, that nei-

was admitted pensioner about 1770. He resided there about two years; from about May 1770 to about July 1772. Here he was distinguished for his amiable disposition, for his integrity, steadiness in his friendships, and that beautiful philanthropy, for which his friends and acquaintance so much esteemed him. Upon the death of that venerable old man, the late lord Willoughby of Parham, about 1775 or 1776, he succeeded to the title, and though attached from principle to the measures of administration, yet he always gave his vote in the House of Peers according to his conscience."

If the obtainment of their birthright was to be fortunate, this branch of the Willoughbys were more fortunate than the collateral branch of another noble family has since been, who, with better proofs and better pretensions, have had the contest with them prolonged beyond that of the siege of Troy, by means which it may be imprudent here to characterize, considering the strictness of the press in these days, and have at length incurred a decision against them, which yet can never alter their right. But mark how fickle are all human enjoyments! They no sooner acquired the end of all their long wishes, than they died, and have scarce left a trace of them behind. It is remarkable that of these two families, so very singularly circumstanced, the last possessor of the honours of the one, and the claimant to those of the other, were intimate friends and companions. But why should I call the latter less fortunate? His family are not likely to be extinguished; and it may operate as a spur upon their industry; it may excite them to exalt their hearts, to cultivate their talents, to win by their own deserts the due rewards from a more grateful posterity, and elevate themselves above the world and those who would depress them, by the force of paramount abilities!

ther Mowbray nor the Duke of York had any right to it within themselves."

The descent of the present Admiral. Sir John Borlace Warren, K. B. is thus deduced by Dr. William, 2d son of Sir Laurence de Watson. Warren of Pointon, Kt. in the time of Edw. IV. (by Isabel Legh) settled at Caunton in Nottinghamshire, and had two sons, of whom John the eldest, died in 1525, and William the second was seated at Corlingstock in Nottinghamshire, and about 1526 purchased the manor of Thorpe-Arnold in He left a son William, of Thorpe-Leicestershire. Arnold, who died in 1592, and was father of Sir Arnold Warren, Kt. an eminent loyalist, who, by Dorothy daughter of Sir Arthur Wilmot of Osmaston in Derbyshire, had Arthur Warren born at Thorp-Arnold, 1617, who died in 1678, leaving, by Catharine daughter of Sir Rowland Rugely. Arthur Warren, Sheriff of Notts, 1662, who sold Thorp-Arnold, and bought Stapleford, &c. in Notts. He married in 1676 Anne daughter and coheir of Sir John Borlace of Marlow, Bucks, Bart. and died in 1697. His son Borlace Warren was M. P. for Nottingham, 1734, 1741, and dying 1747, left, by Anne daughter of Sir John Harpur of Calke, John Borlace Warren, born 1699, who died 1763, leaving by Bridget daughter of Gervase Rossil, Sir John Borlace Warren, created a Baronet 1775, and formerly M. P. for Marlow, and at present for Nottingham, who married Caroline, youngest daughter of Sir John Clavering, K. B.

But these two volumes do not merely contain the genealogy of the Warrens of Poynton and Staple-

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ford; the whole of the first volume and a part of the second is taken up with memoirs of the ancient earls, in which much more historical matter is involved. There are also a variety of prints of their ancient castles and seals, as well as of Poynton Hall and Widdrington castle, the residences of Sir George Warren.

Dr. Watson, the compiler, died 14 March, 1783.

VOYAGES AND TRAVELS.

ART. CCCXXXIX. The principal Navigations, Voyages, Traffiques, and Discoveries of the English Nation, made by sea or over land, to the remote and farthest distant Quarters of the Earth, within the compass of these 1500 years. Divided into three several volumes, according to the positions of the regions whereunto they were directed. first volume containeth the worthy discoveries, &c. of the English towards the North and North-East by Sea, &c. With many testimonies of the ancient foreign Trades, the warlike and other shipping of this realm, with a Commentary of the true State of Iceland, the Defeat of the Spanish Armada, and the Victory at Cadiz. By Richard Hakluyt, M. A. Sometime Student of Christ-Church, in Oxford. Fol. 1598.*

* This first volume was published in 1589. Printed as above. See Herbert, II. 194.

Hakluyt had previously published "Divers Voyages touching the discoverie of America, and the Ilands adjacent unto the same, made first of all by our Englishmen, and afterward by the Frenchmen and Britons: and certain notes of advertisements for observations, necessarie for such as shall hercuster make the like attempt: with two mappes annexed for

The second Volume comprehending the principal Navigations, &c. of the English Nation to the South and South East parts of the World, as well within as without the streight of Gibraltar; within the compass of 1600 years. Divided into two several parts. By R. Hakluyt, &c. Fol. 1599.

Both volumes are bound together; the former consisting of 620 pages; the latter of 312, the first part, and 204 the last; besides dedication, preface, and contents. Both are printed by Geo. Bishop, Ralph Newberie, and Rob. Barker.

The third and last Volume of the Voyages, &c. of the English Nation, &c. within and before these 100 years, to all parts of the Newfound World of America, or the West Indies from 73 Degrees of Northerly to 57 of Southerly Latitude, &c. Collected by Richard Hakluyt, &c. Imprinted (as before). Fol. 1600. pp. 868.

ART. CCCXL. Pilgrimage: or Relations of the World and the Religions observed in all ages, and places discovered, from the Creation to this present, &c. in 4 parts. London. 1613. Fol. Again, 1614. Fol. and 1626. Fol.

the plainer understanding of the whole matter. Imprinted for Thomas Woodcock by T. Dawson, 1582. 4to." See Herbert II. 1108.

Also, "A notable Historie, containing four Voyages, made by certagne French Captaynes unto Florida: wherein the great riches and fruitfulness of the countrey with the maners of the people hitherto concealed are brought to light, written all, saving the last, by Mons. Laudonnier, who remained there himselfe, as the French King's Lieutenant, a yere and a quarter. Newly translated out of French by R. H. Imprinted by Tho. Dayson, 1587, 4to." Ib. 1126.

Hakluytys Posthumus; or Purchas, his Pilgrimes, in 4 volumes, each containing 5 books. London. 1625. Fol.

THESE five volumes contain the valuable and very scarce collection of Purchas, which forms the continuation of Hackluyt.

I shall not enumerate the contents of these very curious volumes, because as to Hakluyt's, that has been done by Oldys in his "British Librarian," and as to both, it has been fully executed by Mr. Locke in his "Explanatory Catalogue of Voyages," reprinted in "Clarke's Progress of Maritime Discovery."

Oldys remarks of the former, "that this elaborate and excellent collection, which redounds as much to the glory of the English nation, as any book that ever was published in it, having already had sufficient complaints made in its behalf, against our suffering it to become so scarce and obscure, by neglecting to translate it into the universal language, or at least to republish it in a fair impression, with proper illustrations, and especially an index, wherewith the author himself supplied the first edition, printed in one volume folio. 1589. "We shall not here repeat those complaints; because we must necessarily wait for the return of that spirit, which animated the gallant adventurers recorded therein to so many heroic exploits, before we can expect such a true taste of delight will prevail to do them so much justice; or that envy of transcendent worth, will permit a

noble emulation of it so far to perpetuate the renown of our said ancestors, as to render, by this means, their memory no less durable and extensive, than their merits have demanded. For it may, perhaps, be thought impolitic, thus to display the most hazardous and the most generous enterprizes which appear in this book, for the honour and advantage of our country, till the virtues of our predecessors will not reflect disadvantageous comparisons upon the posterity who shall revive them. But there may be still room left for a more favourable construction of such neglect, and to hope that nothing but the casual scarcity or obscurity of a work, so long since out of print, may have prevented its falling into those able and happy hands, as might, by such an edition, reward the eminent examples preserved therein, the collector thereof, and themselves, according to all their deserts."

Oldys further observes, that, "as it has been so useful to many of our authors, not only in cosmography and navigation but in history, especially that of the glorious reign in which so many brave exploits were atchieved; as it has been such a leading star to the naval histories since compiled; and saved from the wreck of oblivion many exemplary incidents in the lives of our most renowned navigators; it has therefore been unworthily omitted in the English historical library. And lastly, though the first volume of this collection does frequently appear, by the date in the title page, to be printed in 1599, the reader is not thence to conclude the said volume was then reprinted, but only the title

page, as upon collating the books we have observed a and further, that in the said last printed title page. there is no mention made of the Cadiz voyage; to omit which might be one reason of reprinting that page: for it being one of the most prosperous and honourable enterprizes that ever the Earl of Essex was engaged in, and he falling into the Queen's unpardonable displeasure at this time, our author. Mr. Hakluyt, might probably receive command or direction, even from one of the patrons to whom these voyages are dedicated, who was of the contrary faction, not only to suppress all memorial of that action in the front of this book, but even cancel the whole narrative thereof at the end of it, in all the copies (far the greatest part of the impression) which remained unpublished. And in that castrated manner the volume has descended to posterity; not but if the castration was intended to have been concealed from us, the last leaf of the preface would have been reprinted also, with the like omission of what is there mentioned concerning the insertion of this voyage. But at last, about the middle of the late King's reign, an uncastrated copy did arise, and the said voyage was reprinted from it; whereby many imperfect books have been made complete."

Locke says that the Collection of Hakluyt "is scarce, and valuable, for the good there is to be picked out: but it might be wished the author had been less voluminous; delivering what was really authentic and useful, and not stuffing his work with so many stories taken upon trust; so many trading voyages that have nothing new in them; so many warlike exploits not at all pertinent to his under-

taking; and such a multitude of articles, charters, privileges, letters, relations, and other things little to the purpose of travels and discoveries."

He says of Purchas, that "he has imitated Hakluyt too much, swelling his work into five volumes in folio." But he adds, that "the whole collection is very valuable, as having preserved many considerable voyages, that might otherwise have perished. But like Hakluyt, he has thrown in all that came to hand to fill up so many volumes, and is excessive full of his own notions, and of mean quibbling, and playing upon words; yet for such as can make choice of the best, the collection is very valuable."*

Richard Hakluyt was descended from an ancient family seated at Yetton in Herefordshire, elected student of Christ Church from Westminster school in 1570, took his degree, and then removed to the Middle Temple, where, it is supposed, he studied the law. Afterwards he entered into orders, and became Prebendary of Westminster, 1605, and Rector of Wetheringsett, Suffolk. His genius leading him to the study of history, especially of the maritime part of it, which was encouraged by Sir Francis Walsingham, he kept a constant intelligence with the most celebrated navigators of his day; and from them, and from many small pamphlets and letters, that were published, and went from hand to hand in his time, concerning the voyages and travels of several persons, he compiled his col-

^{*} The price both of Hakluyt and Purchas is high, but of the latter extravagant: Mr. Clarke names fifteen guineas, I suspect it is now much higher.

lection. He died the 23d of November 1616, and was buried in St. Peter's church, Westminster. Anthony Wood records the following publications by him, viz. "The Discoveries of the World from the first original to the year of our Lord, 1555. London. 1601. Ato. corrected and much amended, and translated into English from the Portugueze of Anth. Galvano, Governor of Ternate, the chief island of the Moluccas.

He also translated from the same language into English "Virginia richly valued by the description of the main land of Florida, her next neighbour. London. 1609. 4to." He likewise illustrated by diligent observation of time, and with most useful notes, "Peter Mert. Anglericus, his eight Decades de novo orbe. Paris. 1587. 8vo.*"

Samuel Purchas, by some styled our English Ptolemy, was born either at Dunmow, or Thaxted, in Essex, and educated at Cambridge, from whence he became minister of East-wood in Rochford hundred, in his native county. But being desirous to prosecute his natural turn for collecting and writing voyages and travels, he left his cure to his brother, and by the favour of the Bishop of London, procured the rectory of Saint Martin's church, within Ludgate. Besides his great work, he published "Purchas his Pilgrim, Microcosmus, or the History of Man, &c. London. 1619. 8vo." Also "The King's Tower and Triumphant Arch of London. London. 1623. 8vo." and "A Funeral Sermon on Psalm xxxix. 5. 1619. 8vo."

^{*} Wood's Ath. I. 413.

By the publication of these books he brought himself into debt, and is reported to have died in prison. But this is not the fact, as he died at his own house, about 1628, aged 51, a little while after the King had promised him a deanery.

John Bosart in his Bibliotheca thus speaks of him: "Samuel Purchas Anglus linguarum et artium divinarum atque humanarum egregiè peritus, philosophus, historicus, et theologus maximus, patrix ecclesiæ antistes fidelis, multus egregiis scriptis et imprimis orientalis occidentalique Indix variis voluminibus patrià linguà conscriptis celeberrimus." Another Samuel Purchas, A. M. who published "A Theatre to Political flying Insects, &c. London. 1657. 4to." was his son, as appears by the last copy of verses before that book.*

ART. CCCXLI. English Collections of Voyages continued.

To bring into one point of view the principal collections subsequent to Hakluyt and Purchas, I here take the liberty of borrowing the materials offered to me in the preface of Clark's Progress of Maritime Discovery.

In 1704 a collection of repute was published by Churchill. This, when complete, with the two volumes of scarce Voyages, printed from Lord Oxford's Collections, the first of which appeared in 1732, amounts to eight volumes in folio, and bears a high price. A new edition appeared in 1732 and 1752.

^{*} Wood's Fasti, I. 200.

Harris's Collection, in two volumes folio, entitled, "Navigantium atque itinerantium Bibliotheca" followed in 1705, and was considered as a rival publication. It has since been reprinted with considerable additions by the learned Doctor Campbell, in 1744, 1748, 1764.

"In all these Collections," says Mr. Clarke, "the impartial reader will find much more to commend than to blame, and the collective mass of information is extremely valuable;" but he adds, that if any one deserves the palm, that person is the modest and anonymous compiler of the work, which is known by the name of Astley, its bookseller; it is entitled "A New and General Collection of Voyages and Travels," in four thick quarto volumes, the first number of which appeared in December 1744, and the last in 1747.

The unassuming author was Mr. John Green, of whom nothing is known. Mr. Charles Green, the astronomer, who accompanied Captain Cook on his first voyage, had an elder brother, the Rev. Mr. John Green, who kept a school in Soho, but the similarity of name is all that can be offered. Mr. Clarke has been informed, that Mr. Green had projected a more extensive work, but that the impatience of his publisher brought it to a conclusion at the end of the fourth volume.

"The superior merit of this Collection was acknowledged, even by foreigners, and before the completion of the first volume, the Chancellor of France deemed it worthy of attention. He accordingly requested the Abbè Prevost, Chaplain to the Prince of Conti, to translate it. The execution of

this occupies the seven first volumes of his Histoire General des Voyages, and part of the eighth. But it is to be lamented, that in the performance of this task Prevost has taken very unwarrantable liberties; has shewn throughout a desire to supplant the fame of the original work, which is not once named in the title; and by affixing his own portrait to the first volume, few readers to the present day are aware that the original exists in their own language. Such was the confusion the Abbè produced in his translation, by transposing passages he afterwards inserted as his own, and by the mistakes, which he made, that M. Piere del Hondt, an excellent judge of the merit of Astley's work, brought forward a new translation at the Hague, in which he restored the mutilated parts. An edition was also printed by Didot at Paris, in 12mo. 1749; and some of the volumes at Dresden: the whole amounted to fifty volumes."

These circumstances, in consequence of this public mention of them by Mr. Clarke, have operated to restore Astley's collection to its due credit, and have much increased the price of it.

A valuable "Historical Collection of the several Voyages and Discoveries in the South Pacific Ocean," was given by Alexander Dalrymple, Esq. in 4to. 1770. To which was afterwards added, in 1775, another volume, consisting of "A Collection of Voyages and Observations in the Ocean between South America and Africa."

ART. CCCXLII. A Voyage to the South Sea, and along the Coasts of Chili and Peru, in the year 1712, 1713, and 1714. Particularly describing the genius and constitution of the inhabitants, as well Indians as Spaniards: their customs and manners: their Natural History, mines, commodities. traffick with Europe, &c. by Monsieur Frezier. Engineer in ordinary to the French King. Illustrated with 37 copper cuts of the Coasts, Harbours. Cities, Plants, and other curiosities. Printed for the author's original plates inserted in the Paris With a Postscript by Dr. Edmund Halley, Savilian Professor of Geometry in the University of Oxford. And an account of the Settlement, Commerce, and Riches of the Jesuites in Paraguay. London. Printed for Jonah Bowver, at the Rose in Ludgate Street. MDCCXVII. 4to. pp. 335, besides Preface and Index.

This is a book, of which, at the present moment, it may be seasonable to revive the notice.

Louis XIV. having been at a vast expense to support his grandson upon the throne of Spain, thought this a proper opportunity of getting a full information of the least known parts of the Spanish West-Indies, before the French, as well as all other nations, should be excluded those seas by a peace. For this end, he pitched upon our author, an experienced Engineer and mathematician in his service, whom he knew to be every way qualified to make Hydrographical Observations for the use of Mariners, and for the correction of the Charts; and also to take exact plans of the most considerable Ports

and Fortresses along the Coasts whither he was going; to direct to their best anchorages, and to point out their respective dangers. He sent him at his own charge on board a merchant-ship, in 1712, to pass as a trader only, the better to insinuate himself with the Spanish Governors, and to have all opportunities of learning their strength, and whatever else he went to be informed of. Monsieur Frezier executed this plan to the King's entire He says, in the dedication to the approbation. Duke of Orleans, (for the King was dead before the book appeared) "it is a collection of the observations which he made in navigation, on the errors of the maps, and the situation of the harbours and roads he had been in; together with a description of the animals, plants, fruits, metals, and whatsoever the earth produces of curious in the richest colonies of the world; and lastly, a most exact account of the commerce, forces, government, and manners, as well of the Creolian Spaniards, as of the natives of the country, whom he treats with all the respect which is due to truth."

The author says his principal "business was to take plans, and to bring the navigators acquainted with the seasons, general winds, currents, rocks, shelves, anchorages, and landing-places, wherever he came." There are excellent plans of Callao, Lima, and most of the principal ports on the Continent of South-America. But no chart of the River La Plata, and its shores, which he never entered.

"One objection," says the translator, "does indeed lie against Monsieur Frezier, arising per-

haps from his ambition to be thought to correct the General Sea-chart of our countryman, Dr. Halley; but besides that the reputation of this chart is established by the experience of our navigators in most voyages, beyond the powers of Monsieur Frezier to hurt it, we must remember that our author is a Frenchman; and therefore we need give no further account of their difference, than is contained in the letter, which Dr. Halley wrote to the publisher on the occasion."

Letter of Dr. Halley.

MR. BOWYER,

April 6, 1717.

"I am glad to hear you have undertaken to print, in English, the voyage of Mr. Frezier to and from the Coasts of Peru and Chili. Our people are very much unacquainted with those seas; and those that are, commonly want either will or language to inform the world properly of what they find worth notice, and of what may be of use to those that shall hereafter make the like voyages. The French have the faculty of setting off their relations to the best advantage; and particularly your author has informed us, in a very instructive manner, of several things, that are not only very entertaining, but also what may be of eminent service to us, either in case of trade or war in the seas he describes. this account, I cannot doubt but your design must answer your expectation, especially since you bestow on the book so elegant an edition. ever it may have pleased me in other respects, I find myself obliged to desire of you the liberty to

subjoin a small postscript in defence of my chart of the variation of the compass (whereby I hoped I had done service to the sailors of all nations) against the groundless exceptions of your author, who seems to seek all occasions to find fault, and is otherwise unjust to me. If you please to grant me this favour, you will, without any prejudice to yourself, very much oblige

"Your very humble servant,
EDW. HALLEY."

To Mr. Jonah Bowyer.
These.

ART. CCCXLIII. Europæ Speculum: or a View or Survey of the State of Religion in the Westerne part of the World. Wherein the Romane Religion, and the pregnant policies of the church of Rome to support the same, are notably displayed: with some other memorable discoveries and commemorations. Published according to the Author's original copy, and acknowledged by him for a true copy.

" Multum diuque desideratum."

London: Printed by T. Cotes for Michael Sparke, and are to be sold by George Hutton, at the Turning Stile in Holborne. 1637. 4to. pp. 248.

This book is dated "from Paris 9th April, 1599; and copied out by the author's originall, and finished 2d Oct. 1613."

- "The well-meaning Publisher hereof to the understanding Reader of what rancke or degree soever."
 - "Whereas not many yeares past, there was pub-

lished in print, a Treatise entituled "A Relation of Religion of the Westerne parts of the World," printed for one Simon Waterson. 1605: without name of author, yet generally and currently passing under the name of the learned and worthy gentleman Sir Edwin Sandys, Knt. Know all men by these presents, that the same booke was but a spurious stolne copy, in part epitomized, in part amplified, and throughout most shamefully falsified and false printed from the author's originall; in so much that the same Knight was infinitely wronged thereby; and as soone as it came to his knowledge. that such a thing was printed and passed under his name, he caused it, though somewhat late, when. it seems, two impressions were for the most part vented, to be prohibited by authority; and, as I have heard, as many as could be recovered, to be deservedly burnt, with power also to punish the printers. And yet, nevertheless, since that time there hath beene another impression of the same stolen into the world. Now those so adulterate copies being scattered abroad, and in the hands of some men, I. vet studious of the truth and a lover of my country, and having obtained by a direct means, of a dear friend, a perfect copy, verbatim, transcribed from the author's original, and legitimate one, of his own hand-writing, have thought good to publish it unto the world; first, for the good of the church; secondly, the glory of our English nation; thirdly, for the fame of the ingenuous, and ingenious, and acute author, a gentleman, who deserved right well of his country. And lastly, that the world may be no longer deprived of

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so rare a jewell, in its own lustre, nor abused by the other counterfeit one before named.

"I cannot see how any should be offended hereat," but such as are sworne slaves to their Lord God the Pope, whose Romane kingdome, and Babylonian tottering tower, hath such a blow given it hereby, as I know but few of such force; and not many such blowes more will make the same kingdome and tower fall downe to the ground, with utter desolation.

" Vale in Christo, Et Fruere."

Sir Edwin Sandys was second son of Edwin Archbishop of York; younger brother of Samuel, ancestor of the late Lord Sandys, and elder brother of George the poet, already mentioned. He was educated at Oxford 1577, and had for his tutor the celebrated Richard Hooker, the author of " Ecclesiastical Polity." On May the 11th, 1603, he was knighted by King James, and afterwards made a considerable figure in parliament, being a staunch patriot; on which account exposing himself to the resentment of the court, he was with the famous Selden, in 1621, committed to the custody of the sheriff of London; which being considered as a breach of privilege by the House of Commons, was much resented by them. He was treasurer to the Undertakers for the Western Plantations, which he effectually advanced, and was considered as a solid statesman, a man of great judgment, and of a commanding pen.

He died in 1629, and was buried at Northborne

in Kent, where he had a seat and estate granted him by James I. soon after his accession. monument of marble, with two recumbent figures. but without any inscription, still remains in the south transept of Northborne church, where the present editor surveyed it in a somewhat mutilated state, on the first day of the present year (1807). He had seven sons, * of whom Henry the eldest, died Edwin, the second, was the well without issue. known parliamentary colonel, of whom much may he read in Mercurius Rusticus, and other tracts of those days; and who, receiving a mortal wound at the battle of Worcester in 1642, retired to Northborne to die, leaving the estate to his son Sir Richard, who was killed by the accidental explosion of his fowling piece in 1663. His son, Sir Richard, was created a baronet 1684, and dving 1726, without male issue, was the last of the family who lived at Northborne: where the mansion remained many years deserted, and at length, within the memory of old people, was pulled down. The editor has lately seen a very interesting letter of the late Mrs. Elizabeth Carter, describing it as she could just remember it in her childhood, and as she had heard old people represent it, contrasted with its present state, and accompanied with many touching reflections on the instability of human affairs. This will soon appear, with several others, in the Life of that very excellent and justly celebrated Woman, which is now in the press.

^{*} Richard, third son of Sir Edwin, was also a parliamentary colonel, and was the ancestor of the late Admiral Charles Sandys, &c. &c. E. H. Sandys Esq. of Thorp-Arch, in Yorkshire, &c.

ART. CCCXLIV. A Relation of a Journey begun An. Dom. 1610. Foure Bookes, containing a description of the Turkish Empire of Egypt; of the Holy Land, of the remote parts of Italy, and Islands adjoyning. The Third Edition. London. Printed for Ro. Allot. 1627.

THE first Edition was in 1615; others in 1621, 1632, 1652, 1658, 1670, 1673.

A Relation of some years Travels into Africa and the Greater Asia, especially the territories of the Persian Monarchy, and some parts of the Oriental Indies and Isles adjacent. London. 1634, 1638, &c. 1677.

Which last is the fourth impression, wherein many things are added, which were not in the former. All the impressions are in folio, and adorned with cuts.

This book is well known as the work of the celebrated George Sandys the poet, a younger son of Edwin, Archbishop of York, who, dying at the seat of his niece, Margaret, the widow of Sir Francis Wyat, Kt. at Boxley Abbey in Kent, in March 1643, was buried in the parish church there, and has the following entry in its Register of Burials: "Georgius Sandys, Poetarum Anglicanorum sui sæculi facile Princeps, sepultus fuit Martii VII. Stylo Anglic. An. Dom. 1643."*

It is dedicated in the following energetic words,

^{*} Wood's Ath. II. 46, 47.

" To the Prince.

"SIR,

"The eminence of the degree wherein God and Nature have placed you, doth allure the eyes; and the hopefulness of your virtues, win the love of all men. For virtue being in a private person an exemplary ornament, advanceth itself in a prince to a public blessing. And as the sunne to the world, so bringeth it both light and life to a kingdom: a light of direction, by glorious example; and a life of joy through a gracious government. From the iust and serious consideration whereof, there springeth in minds not brutish, a thankful correspondence of affection and duty; still pressing to express themselves in endeavours of service. Which also hath caused me most (noble Prince) not furnished of better means, to offer in humble zeal to your princely view these my doubled travels; once with some toil and danger performed, now recorded with sincerity and diligence. The parts I speak of are the most renowned countries and kingdoms: once the seats of most glorious and triumphant empires; the theatres of valour and heroicall actions: the soils enriched with all earthly felicities; the places where nature hath produced her wonderfull works; where arts and sciences have been invented, and perfited; where wisdom, virtue, policie, and civility, have been planted, have flourished: and, lastly, where God himself did place his own commonwealth, gave laws and oracles, inspired his prophets, sent angels to converse with men; above all, where the Sonne of God descended to become man; where he honoured the earth with his beautiful steps,

wrought the worke of our redemption, triumphed over death, and ascended into glory. Which countries, once so glorious and famous for their happy estate, are now through vice and ingratitude become the most deplored spectacles of extreme miserie: the wild beasts of mankind having broken in upon them, and rooted out all civilitie, and the pride of a stern and barbarous tyrant possessing the thrones of ancient and just dominion. Who aiming only at the height of greatness and sensualitie, hath in tract of time reduced so great and goodly a part of the world, to that lamentable distress and servitude, under which (to the astonishment of the understanding beholders) it now faints and groneth. Those rich lands at this present remain waste and overgrowne with bushes, receptacles of wild beasts, of theeves and murderers; large territories dispeopled, or thinly inhabited; goodly cities made desolate; sumptuous buildings become ruines, glorious temples either subverted, or prostituted to impietie; true religion discountenanced and oppressed; all nobilitie extinguished; no light of learning permitted, nor virtue cherished: violence and rapine insulting over all, and leaving no securitie save to an abject mind, and unlookt on povertie; which calamities of theirs so great and deserved, are to the rest of the world as threatening instructions. For assistance wherein, I have not onely related what I saw of their present condition; but so farre as convenience might permit, presented a briefe view of the former estates, and first antiquities of those peoples and countries: thence to draw a right image of the frailtie of man, the mutabilitie of whatsoever is

worldly; and assurance that as there is nothing unchangeable saving God, so nothing stable but by his grace and protection. Accept, Great Prince, these weak endeavours of a strong desire: which shall be always devoted to do your Highness all acceptable service; and ever rejoice in your prosperity and happiness.

GEO. SANDYS."

Additional Notices by a Correspondent.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE CENSURA LITERARIA.

SIR,

I AM fortunate enough to possess the copy of Sandys's Journey to Turkey, formerly belonging to the author himself, which is the *fourth* edition, and bearing a different date to any that you have described, namely 1637.

Subjoined to the whole, and signed with the author's name, are the following lines, written in the clearest and neatest manner; and as they may probably be interesting to the majority of your readers, I have here transcribed them.

DEO. OPT. MAX.

O Thou, who all things hast of nothing made, Whose hand the radiant firmament displaid, With such an undiscerned swiftnesse hutl'd, About the stedfast centre of the world:

Against whose rapid course the restlesse sun; And wand'ring flames in varied motions run, Which Heat, Light, Life infuse; Time, Night and Day Distinguish: in our humane bodies sway: That hung'st the solid earth in fleeting aire, Vein'd with cleare springs, which ambient seas repaire; In cloudes the mountains wrap their hoary heads, Luxurious valleies cloth'd with flow'ry meads; Her trees yield fruit and shade; with liberall breasts All creatures shee (their common mother) feasts. Then man, thy image, mad'st in dignitie, In knowledge and in beauty, like to thee, Plac'd in a heav'n on earth without his toyle; The ever-flourishinge and fruitfull soile Unpurchas'd food produc'd: all creatures were His subjects serving more for love than fear: He knew no Lord but thee. But when he fell From his obedience, all at once rebell, And in his ruin exercise their might: Concurring elements against him fighte; Troupes of unknown diseases, Sorrow, Age, And Death assail him with successive rage; Hell let forth all her furies; none so great As man to man, Ambition, Pride, Deceit, Wrong arm'd with Power, Lust, Rapine, Slaughter reign'd, And flatter'd vice the name of virtue gain'd. Then hills beneath the swelling waters stood, And all the globe of earth was but one floude, Yet could not cleanse their guilte; the following race, Worse than their fathers and their sons more base Their god-like beauty lost, sin's wretched thrall; No sparke of their divine originalle, Left unextinguish'd. All enveloped With darkness, in their holde transgressions dead,

When thou didst from the east a light display. Which rendered to the world a cleerer day. Whose precepts from hell's jawes our stepps withdrawe. And whose example was a livinge law. Who purg'd us with his blood, the way prepar'd To heav'n, and those long chaind-up doores unbar'd. How infinite thy mercy, which exceeds The world thou madst, as well as our misdeeds, With greater reverence then thy justice wins. And still augments thy honor by our sins! O who hath tasted of thy clemencie In greater measure or more oft than I! My grateful verse thy goodnesse shall displaye. O thou who wentst along in all my way, To where the morning with perfumed wings From the high mountains of Panchæa's springs. To that new found out world, where sober night Takes from the Antipodes her silent flight, To those darke seas where horrid Winter reignes. And bindes the stubborne floudes in icie chaines. To Lybian Wasts whose thirst no shoures assuage, And where swolne Nilus cooles the lion's rage, Thy wonders in the deepe have I behelde; Yet all by those on Judah's hills excell'd, There where the Virgin's son his doctrine taught; His miracles and our redemption wrought; Where I by thee inspir'd, his praises sung, And on his sepulchre my offerings hung. Which way so e'er I turn'd my face or feete, I see thy glory and thy mercy meete: Met on the Thracian shores, when in the strife Of franticke Simoans thou preserv'dst my life, So when Arabian thieves belay'd us round, And when by all ahandon'd thee I found,

That false. Sidonian wolfe, whose craft put on A sheepe soft fleece, and my Bellerophon To ruine by his cruele letter sent, Thou didst by thy protecting hand prevent; Thou saved'st me from the bloudie massacres Of faithlesse Indians, from their treacherous warres: From raging feavers, from the sultry breathe, Of tainted aire, which clos'd the jawes of death; Preserv'd from swallowing seas, when tow'ring waves Mix'd with the cloudes, and open'd their deep graves, From barbarous pirats ransom'd, by those taught Successfully with Salian Moores wee fought: Then brought'st me home in safetye, that this earthe Mighte bury mee, which fed me from my birth, Blest with a healthful age, a quiet minde, Content with little, to this worke design'd, Whiche I att length have finnish't by thy aide, And now my vowes have att thy altar paid. Jam tetigi portum. Valere.

GEORGE SANDYS.

Prefixed to Herbert's Travels, which follow the above work, is an engraven title page (independent of, and varying in point of matter, from the printed one which you describe) executed in a good free style, by W. M. (William Marshall.) This is the second edition, bearing date 1638.

Locke, in his Explanatory Catalogue of Voyages, says of these travels, that "they have deservedly had a great reputation, being the best account of those parts written by any Englishman, and not inferior to the best of foreigners; what is peculiar in them is the excellent description of all antiquities,

the curious remarks on them, and the extraordinary accidents that often occur."

I have an edition of Purchas's Pilgrimage in folio, dated 1617, which is one that you have not particularized.

I remain, Sir,

Your most obedient Servant,

James H. Markland.

Ardwick, Lancashire, April 6, 1807.

ART. CCCXLV. A Voyage into the Levant: or a brief relation of a Journey lately performed by Mr. Henry Blunt, Gent. from England by the way of Venice into Dalmatia, Sclavonia, Bosnah, Hungary, Macedonia, Thessaly, Thrace, Rhodes, and Egypt, unto Grand Cairo. With particular Observations concerning the moderne condition of the Turkes, and other people under that Empire. The Third Edition. London. Printed by J. L. for Andrew Crooke, and are to be sold at the signe of the Beare in Paul's Churchyard. 1638. Ato. pp. 126.

THE second edition was in 1636. Other editions were in 12mo.

Sir Henry Blount was born at Tittenhanger, in Hertfordshire, in 1602, and educated at Oxford. On May the 7th, 1634, he embarked at Venice for Constantinople, in order to his voyage into the Levant, returned about two years after, became one of the Gentlemen Pensioners to Charles I. and was by him knighted 21 March 1639. Anthony Wood

says, "He was esteemed, by those who knew him, a gentleman of a very clear judgment, great experience, much contemplation though not of much reading, and of great foresight into governments; he was also a person of admirable conversation, and in his younger years a great banterer, which in his elder he disused." He died the 9th of October, 1682, ætatis 80.* His two sons, Sir Thomas Pope Blount, and Charles Blount, are well known: the lineal representative of the former is the present Lord Hardwicke, through his mother.

Wood says these travels were so well esteemed abroad, that, as he was informed, they were translated into French and Dutch; but Locke observes, "they are very concise, and without any curious observations, or any notable descriptions; his account of the religions and customs of those people, only a brief collection of some other travellers, the language mean, and not all of it to be relied on, if we credit others who have writ better."

Sir Henry Blount commences his work with the following explanation of his views: "Intellectual complexions have no desire so strong, as that of knowledge; nor is any knowledge unto man so certaine, and pertinent, as that of human affaires: this experience advances best, in observing of people, whose institutions much differ from ours; for customes conformable to our own, or to such wherewith we are already acquainted, doe but repeate our old observations, with little acquist of new. So my former time spent in viewing Italy, France, and

[•] Wood's Ath. II, 712.

some little of Spain, being countries of Christian institution, did but represent, in a severall dresse, the effect of what I knew before.

"Then seeing that the customes of men are much swaved by their naturall dispositions, which are originally inspired and composed by the climate, whose ayre and influence they receive, it seems naturall, that to our north-west parts of the world, no people should be more averse, and strange of behaviour, than those of the south-east: moreover, those parts being now possessed by the Turkes, who are the only moderne people, great in action, and whose empire hath so suddenly invaded the world, and fixt itself such firm foundations as no other ever did; I was of opinion, that hee who would behold these times in their greatest glory, could not find a better scene than Turkey: these considerations sent mee thither; where my general purpose gave mee four particular cares: first, to observe the religion, manners, and policie of the Turks, not perfectly, (which were a taske for an inhabitant rather than a passenger.) but so farre forth, as might satisfie this scruple, (to wit) whether to an impartial conceit, the Turkish wave appeare absolutely barbarous as we are given to understand, or rather another kind of civilitie, different from ours, but no lesse pretending: secondly, in some measure, to acquaint myself with those other sects which live under the Turks, as Greeks, Armenians, Freinks, and Zinganaes, but especially the Jews; a race from all others so averse both in nature and institution, as glorying to single itself out of the rest of mankind, remaines 'obstinate, contemptible, and famous:

thirdly, to see the Turkish army then going against Poland, and therein to note, whether their discipline military encline to ours, or else bee of a new mould, though not without some touch, from the countries they have subdued; and whether it be of a frame apt to confront the Christians or not: the last and choice piece of my intent, was to view Grand Cairo. and that for two causes; first, it being clearely the greatest concourse of mankind in these times. and perhaps that ever was; there must needs be some proportionable spirit in the government: for such vast multitudes, and those of wits so deeply malicious, would soon breede confusion, famine, and utter desolation, if in the Turkish domination there were nothing but sottish sensualitie, as most Christians conceive: lastly, because Egypt is held to have been the fountaine of all science, and arts civill, therefore I did hope to find some sparke of those cinders not yet put out; or else in the extreme contrairietie, I should receive an impression as important, from the ocular view of so great a revolution: for above all other senses, the eye having the most immediate, and quicke commerce with the soul, gives it a more smart touch than the rest, leaving in the fancy somewhat unutterable; so that an eye witness of things conceives with an imagination more compleat, strong, and intuitive, than he can either apprehend or deliver by way of relation; for relations are not only in great part false, out of the relater's misinformation, vanitie, or interest; but which is unavoydable, their choice, and frame agrees most naturally with his judgement, whose issue they are, than with his readers; so as

the reader is like one feasted with dishes fitter for another man's stomache than his owne: but a traveller takes with his eye, and ease, only such occurrencies into observation, as his own apprehension affects, and through that sympathy can digest them into an experience more natural for himself, than he could have done the notes of another: wherefore I desiring somewhat to informe myself of the Turkish nation, would not sit downe with a booke knowledge thereof, but rather (through all the hazard and endurance of travel,) receive it from mine own eye. not dazzled with any affection, prejudicacy, or mist of education, which preoccupate the mind, and delude it with partiall ideas, as with a false glasse, representing the object in colours, and proportions untrue: for the just censure of things is to be drawn from their end whereto they are aimed, without requiring them to our customs and ordinances, or other impertinent respects, which they acknowledge not for their touch-stone: wherefore he who passes through the several educations of men, must not try them by his own, but weyning his mind from all former habit of opinion, should as it were, putting off the old man, come fresh and sincere to consider them: this preparation was the cause, why the superstition, policie, entertainments, diet, lodging, and other manners of the Turks, never provoked mee so farre, as usually they doe those who catechize also the world according to their own home; and this barres these observations from appearing beyond my own closet, for to a mind possest with any set doctrine, their unconformitie must needs make them seem unsound, and extravagant, nor can they comply to a rule, by which they were not made. Neverthelesse, considering that experience forgotten is as if it never had beene, and knowing how much I ventured for it, as little as it is, I could not but esteeme it worth retaining in my owne memory, though not transferring to others: hereupon I have in these lines registered to myself, whatsoever most tooke me in my journey from Venice into Turky."

ART. CCCXLVI. A New Survey of the West Indies. By Thomas Gage. London. 1648. 800.

This is a book with which I am unacquainted myself, but presuming it to be the same as Mr. Southey, in the notes to his beautiful poem of Madoc, calls Gage's account of Mexico; I learn from him, that, though the author pretends to have collected his materials on the spot, the account of that place is copied verbatim from Nicholas's conquest of West-India, already mentioned, (see Art. 259.) whence I also learn a confirmation of my supposition, that Nicholas's book is a translation from Gomara, (ut. sup. p. 44.). It is much to the credit of this volume, that Mr. Southey's notes contain large and frequent citations from it.

ART. CCCXLVII. A Journey over Land, from the Gulph of Honduras to the Great South Sea. Performed by John Cockburn, and five other Englishmen, viz. Thomas Rounce, Richard Ba-

nister, John Holland, Thomas Robinson, and John Ballmain; who were taken by a Spanish Guarda-Costa, in the Johan and Jane, Edward Burt, Master, and set on shore at a place called Porto-Cavalo, naked and wounded, as mentioned in several News-Papers of October 1731. Containing variety of extraordinary distresses and adventures, and some new and useful discoveries of the inland of those almost unknown parts of America: as also, an exact account of the Manners, Customs, and Behaviour of the several Indians, inhabiting a tract of Land of 2,400 miles, particularly of their dispositions towards the Spanish and English. which is added, a curious piece written in the reign of King James I. and never before printed, intitled, A Brief Discovery of some Things best worth noteinge in the Travels of Nicholas Withington, a Factor in the East Indiase. London: Printed for C. Rivington, at the Bible and Crown, in St. Paul's Church-yard. 1735. 8vo. pp. 352, exclusive of preface.

The reality of the ship, her voyage, and capture, as abovementioned, stand verified on public record; but many of the circumstances related in Cockburn's Narrative (which has been several times reprinted in a cheap form) have so much the air of romance, that it has been usually read in common with Falconer's Voyages, Singleton's Piracies, and similar fictitious publications. The copy in my possession furnishes the following MS. remarks, written on the guard leaf preceding the title-page.

VOL. IV.

"This narrative appeared, on its publication, so extraordinary, that it was looked upon by many who perused it, as little better than a romance. Of this number was the late Sir William Morden Harbord. Bart. K. B. (father of the present Lord Suffield,) who, upon being informed, some years after, that Thomas Rounce, one of the persons whose adventures compose the subject of it, and who seems to have been in a station superior to that of a common seaman, was then resident in Yarmouth, (his native place,) sent for him to his estate in Norfolk, and, after spending a part of several days in closely interrogating this man respecting every occurrence mentioned in the relation, he became, by means of the replies he received to his questions, fully satisfied of the truth of at least all the material circumstances that are detailed in this remarkable account. There were also several persons still living in Yarmouth at that time who perfectly remembered the departure of Captain Underwood, as mentioned in page 137, and that he had never been since heard of by any who knew him, until he was met with as is there related.

"This Thomas Rounce had an unhappy son of the same name, who was tried at the Admiralty Sessions at the Old Bailey, found guilty of high treason in voluntarily fighting against his country on board two Spanish privateers, and suffered death at Execution Dock, early in the year 1743. The concourse of spectators was so great, that many were severely hurt by the pressure of the crowd.

From authentic information, 1785."

Withington's Narrative, although worth preserving, seems to have been added here by the booksellers, merely to make up a volume; it might, with propriety, have afterwards been annexed to Terry's Voyage to East India, which was republished in 1777, the connexion between these two with respect to time and circumstances being very obvious.

ARCANUS.

END OF VOL. IY.



ricase return promptly.

CHANNE



